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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

CULTURAL CHANGE IN AN INNER CITY HIGH SCHOOL

by



MICHAEL ALPERN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1986

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate, describe and explain cultural change in an inner-city high school; that is, how a group of people in an inner-city high school were able to attain a sense of meaning and organization. It was postulated that before attempts are made to generalize a descriptive process and model for the attainment of greater effectiveness in a high school, the interpretations of events by key actors who were involved in the process of cultural change should be determined.

An historical case study (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982) and the use of an interpretive method of enquiry, symbolic interactionism (Denzin, 1978), and the interpretation systems model (Weick and Daft, 1983) provided the theoretical framework, and the general approach to inductive research as described by Denzin (1983) were adopted. Data were collected over a four-month period using the field research strategies of elite interviews (Dexter, 1979) and the unobtrusive measures suggested by Denzin (1978).

The principal findings of the study were as follows:

1. The elements required to attain cultural change were interactive. Eleven elements, each categorized as either a bureaucratic or a cultural initiative, were found to have originated from either within the school or from within the school district. The interaction between individual initiatives and between each of the two categories of initiatives was related to the attainment of cultural change at the school.

2. Changes within the school's internal and external environments were interactive and collectively they affected the process of change within the school. The resultant changes to the school's image as perceived by both participants and observers were a result of these interactions.

Three major elements of change in the school's external environment were identified: (1) demographic change; (2) district policy change; and (3) the selection of the site for the district's new administrative offices. These three elements were found to be related to changes within the school; that is, its population, programs, administrative organization and staff members' and others' perceptions of the school.

3. The leadership behaviour of the school's new principal was enactive. This behaviour, which was a dominant element in the process of attaining cultural change within the school, included the interpretation of needs, goal setting, and establishment of priorities for the taking of both bureaucratic and cultural initiatives, and led to the shaping of staff's, students' and parents' interpretations that the school was more effective; that is, it projected a more positive image.

The literature was revisited and the study's findings were found to be congruent with the research of Weick and Daft (1983), Smircich and Morgan (1983), and Firestone and Wilson (1985). Among other things, the notion of enactivity appeared to be supported by the findings.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Need for the Study

A composite high school is a multi-cellular organization. While appearing to be a highly ordered bureaucracy possessing a discrete structure, specialized tasks and divisions of labour, upon closer analysis a high school, even a small one (Sizer, 1984), may be seen to be composed of a "syndrome" or "culture" (Clark et al., 1984, and Purkey and Smith, 1982). Similarly, while a school may appear to be administered through a hierarchy of control with information flowing mainly downward from a principal to his assistants, to department heads, to their assistants, to teachers and then to students, in reality, information in the form of a "family of concepts" (Pettigrew, 1979) is developed and processed in a myriad of ways and communicated through formal and informal networks (Cusick, 1981) and across internal and external boundaries of the school.

Each high school is perceived to be an unique organization (D'Amico, 1982; Sleeter, 1982). Even the small high schools (Sizer, 1984) are viewed by both researchers (Miskel et al., 1983) and practitioners as being composed of a cultural complex--an interacting mixture of symbols, languages, ideologies, beliefs, rituals and myths (Pettigrew, 1979). Firestone and Herriott (1982:53) suggest that an examination and analysis of each school's culture is "central to understanding its processes, its content, the behaviour of individuals and groups and its climate." In support, Cusick (1981) and Purkey and

Smith (1982) emphasize the proposition that a school as a culture or sub-culture is a more or less loosely-knit social organization, and not a fine piece of machinery.

An extensive body of literature on organizational effectiveness has provided a variety of foci, descriptors and characteristics of what makes a school effective. The current interest in effectiveness as noted by Ratsoy (1983), Renihan and Renihan (1984) and Miskel (1982) is neither a new phenomenon nor unique to education. A recent body of literature has, however, provided an additional perspective on school effectiveness (Smircich, 1983; Weick and Daft; 1983; Morgan, 1983; Firestone and Wilson, 1985), and has generated the question: How does a group of people attain a sense of organization, a more effective school?

These authors stress the "very active role people play in enacting their organization's reality and in developing interpretations for their experiences" (Smircich, 1983:171). Assumptions are made that members of effective organizations (1) possess a "bias for action" (Peters and Waterman, 1982), and (2) are able to demonstrate an ability to interact with their environments. As Smircich (1983:163) notes, "The purpose of this approach to the study of people who are organized is diagnostic to get at how organizations work . . . and what it means to be organized."

From this perspective the role of the researcher is to uncover the structure of meaning in an organization's culture. When a researcher is able to "discover and reveal the meanings underlying social action in organized situations" (Smircich, 1983:163) we are then able to learn how groups form and act in particular situations and circumstances, and change over time.

The cultural approach to school improvement has, note Purkey and

Smith (1982), the advantage of being equally applicable to all schools, elementary or secondary. They continue,

The logic of the cultural model is such that it points to increasing the organization effectiveness of a school building and is neither grade-level nor curriculum specific. Certainly the greater complexity and size of secondary schools indicate that attempts to change their culture will prove more difficult (Purkey and Smith, 1982:68).

Citing the research of Rutter et al., (1979), Coleman et al., (1981) and others, Purkey and Smith (1982:68) add that the culture of secondary schools can be manipulated to promote greater effectiveness. Similarly, the same research suggests that "schools effective in one area tended to be effective in other areas" (Purkey and Smith, 1982:68); however, supporting data are generally not available.

Rowan (1983), Firestone and Herriott (1982) and others make reference to the dearth of studies on secondary schools in general and high schools in particular. They note that whilst there is a significant amount of data that has been obtained from investigations of both rural and urban elementary schools, the transferability of this information to high schools is uncertain. "We need studies about secondary schools," indicate Firestone and Herriott (1982:53), "that are sensitive to the complexities of high schools."

The high school that was the focus of this study was featured in both the Canadian national and local city media as the city's toughest inner-city high school (Korenblum, 1979). The process for changes that occurred in the high school are still considered to be models upon which other schools that may experience similar problems may adopt strategies for change (Strembitsky, Superintendent of Schools, 1984). There has not, however, been any formal effort to investigate, analyze and document the processes that enabled the inner-city high school to be

brought from the throes of "organizational death" (Sanders, 1983) to a condition that Goodlad (1984) might describe as "an effective school--a school that exhibits a condition of ongoing self-renewal."

An extensive review of the literature on school effectiveness as it relates to high schools indicated that there was a need for (1) single secondary school studies (Farrar et al., 1984); (2) studies of high schools that are based on criteria other than students' achievement outcomes--climate, ethos, culture (Sleeter, 1982; Marland, 1984); and (3) studies of interaction between educators and organizational processes (March, 1980).

This study was based on the premise that before attempts are made to generalize descriptive or prescriptive processes and models for the attainment of greater effectiveness in high schools, the interpretations of events by key actors involved in the process of cultural change in a high school should be determined. Given this additional information, it was considered possible to generate a theoretical proposition of how administrative organization, processes and behavior affected cultural change at the school during a traumatic period in the school's development. This wider form of knowledge (Smircich, 1983:163) may then be used to "contribute to a broader understanding of the dynamics of corporate cultures and subcultures in general."

Purpose of the Study

The major question of this study was to investigate, describe and explain cultural changes in an inner-city high school: how a group of people in an inner-city high school were able to attain a sense of organization; that is, a more effective school. The school selected for the study has received attention in a widely read Canadian periodical

for its movement toward being a more effective school, and known for its leadership in providing a disciplined school environment while developing innovative programming for inner-city and other youth. The study was, therefore, focused on: (1) the changes that occurred within the school; (2) the administrative organization, processes and behaviours; (3) the generation of theoretical propositions regarding administrative organization, processes and behavior in an inner-city composite high school during the period 1979 through 1983; and (4) an examination of the congruence of the study's findings with the current research and literature on effective schools.

The general area of enquiry was formulated in the following research questions: During the period 1979 through 1983,

1. What changes were perceived of the school's image?
 - 1.1 What were the changing images of the school as perceived by the media?
 - 1.2 What were the changing images of the school as perceived by other people external to the school?
 - 1.3 What were the changing images of the school as perceived by staff and students within the school?
2. What changes occurred within the external environment of the school?
 - 2.1 What were the demographic changes within the inner city?
 - 2.2 What were the changes in the school district's policies?
 - 2.3 What were the activities of the school district's Central Office personnel?
3. What were the administrative behaviours provided to the school at different times and by different people?

- 3.1 What were the administrative behaviours of the school's principal?
- 3.2 What were the administrative behaviours of the school's assistant principals?
- 3.3 What were the administrative behaviours of the school's department heads?
4. What were the changes that occurred within the school?
 - 4.1 What were the changes that occurred in students' levels of satisfaction with their school, their programs of instruction, their teachers, and their administration?
 - 4.2 What were the changes that occurred in teachers' levels of satisfaction with their school, their assignments, and the school's administration?
 - 4.3 What were the changes that occurred in parents' levels of satisfaction with the school, the school's programs, and the school's administration?
 - 4.4 What were the changes made to the administrative structure of the school?

In an extensive review of the literature on school effectiveness, Purkey and Smith (1982:68) conclude that

... in attempting to build more effective schools we must abandon our reliance on facile solutions and the assumption that fundamental change can be brought about from the top down. Instead, a more promising notion rests on the conception of schools as functioning social systems with distinctive cultures in which the improvement effort is directed toward incremental, long-term cultural change.

The need to investigate schools and other complex organizations each as a unique culture is noted by Smircich (1983), Clark et al., (1984), Sizer (1984), D'Amico (1982), and Pettigrew (1979). It is, they

suggest, a too narrow perspective to assess a school and describe it as effective solely on the basis of student outcomes or any other single or small group of variables. However, as noted by Ratsoy (1983:5), "No model can be all inclusive. The theorist, the researcher, and the practitioner may have to settle for broad categories which can be elaborated for specific purposes as the need arises."

A more inclusive collection of categories relating to an organization's culture is suggested in recent literature (Smircich, 1983; Jones, 1983; Morgan, 1983; and Pettigrew, 1979). These categories include symbols, language, ideology, rituals and myths that are off-springs from a "family of concepts" (Pettigrew, 1979:574) that possess both an appropriate context and a related methodology (symbolic interactionism) for the study of a complex organization, such as a composite high school.

High schools are the focus of a case study of Rutter et al., (1979). This much-cited research "stands out" says Purkey and Smith (1982) because (1) it was a longitudinal study; (2) it examined secondary schools; and (3) it attempted to assess school effectiveness in terms of students' in-school behaviour. The conclusions by Rutter et al., (1979) are that secondary schools vary in outcomes, and that this variation is associated with such factors as the "school's ethos and other social-institutional characteristics." Collectively, the characteristics noted may be described as being components of each school's culture.

Purkey and Smith (1982), in a critique of the study by Rutter et al., (1979), note that only two of the twelve schools in the study could be considered academically effective. There is, however, an increasing

awareness that assessments of effectiveness of inner-city schools should relate to a more inclusive description of effectiveness rather than focusing on student achievement scores alone (Chandler, 1984).

In this study an attempt was made to carry out an historical investigation of the changes in the culture of an inner-city high school. Through descriptions and analysis of the data collected it was posited that the development of beliefs, symbols, language, ideologies and myths would fall into patterns, and that the portrayal of such patterns would provide an insight into the process by which networks of meaning and understanding are developed and change over time. It was further posited that an interpretation of the perceptions of key actors of the cultural change process would help to explain how the members of an inner-city high school attained a sense of organization.

Design of the Study

Theoretical Framework

For this study, given the nature of the question to be answered, "How did a group of people in an inner-city high school attain a sense of organization: a more effective school?" an interpretive method of enquiry that has its origins in naturalistic enquiry (Guba and Lincoln, 1982; and Guba, 1978) was adopted. Interpretive research is concerned (Burrell and Morgan, 1979:235-236) with combining the rationale with the intuitive approach to knowledge. The focus (Das, 1983) in interpretive research is typically on the unfolding of process rather than structure. In addition, suggests Das (1983:301), this approach "provides a broader and more holistic perspective" than other more quantitative approaches. Barritt et al., (1983), in describing the interpretive tradition of naturalistic enquiry, guide the researcher to

(1) place himself in the context he wishes to understand; and (2) recognize that the researcher, like the people and situations being studied, is also an interpreter.

Weick and Daft (1983) present an interpretive model for the analysis of an organization's effectiveness: the Interpretation Systems Model. This model attempts to provide a perspective that integrates both the qualitative and quantitative approaches to research. A more detailed examination of this model will be presented in Chapters 2 and 3 of this report.

The historical organizational case study design (Bodgan and Bicklen, 1982) was used to provide descriptive data beginning with the succession of a new principal to the school in September, 1979, to the conclusion of the 1982-83 school year. This period provided a focus on major changes that occurred during a period of turbulence in the school's history. This period similarly appeared to be sufficiently significant in the minds of people in the school to be regarded as a critical period during which the culture of the school changed.

Pettigrew (1979:571) notes that a longitudinal study design has the potential advantage of allowing various readings to be taken of the development of the organization. As in Pettigrew's (1973) study of an investment company, this study will focus on continuous processes as they relate to questions of the establishment of organizational goals, their emergence and transformation, and to changes in systems of beliefs, power relationships, and culture.

Given that the field of study into school effectiveness and change processes in high school cultures have both such varied theoretical bases, and similarly, given that the beliefs and activities of key

actors in the school on changes in the school's culture had not been formally ascertained, an inductive study to determine the interpretations of those persons identified as key actors in the past events of the school was considered to be appropriate.

Definition of Terms

The following terms are used throughout the study in the contexts of the definitions indicated below.

culture: the system of such publicly and collectively accepted meanings operating for a given group at a given time. This system of terms, forms, categories, and images interprets a people's own situation to themselves (Pettigrew, 1979:514).

composite high school: a public school that offers secondary education primarily to youth enrolled in academic, vocational, business or other programs at the grade 10, 11 and 12 levels of schooling.

interpretations: a process of translating events, of developing models for understanding, of bringing out meaning, and of assembling conceptual schemes.

interview: a face to face verbal exchange in which one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information or expressions of opinions or beliefs from another person or persons.

elite interviewing: an interview with an interviewee who, in terms of the current purposes of the interviewer, is given the following treatment:

1. the interviewee's definition of the situation is stressed.
2. the interviewee is encouraged to structure the account of the situation,
3. and the interviewee introduces to a considerable extent

his/her notions of what he/she regards as relevant, instead of relying upon the interviewer's notions of relevance.

Delimitations of the Study

1. This study was delimited to a single-school case study of an inner-city high school.
2. This study was confined to the period September, 1979, to June, 1983. For the purpose of clarity and continuity, it was necessary to refer to events prior to 1979.

Limitations of the Study

1. Interviews were limited to teachers, administrators, and alumni working in or having direct decision making input to an inner-city high school.
2. This study was focused on how members in an inner-city high school attained a sense of organization.
3. The participants were volunteers.
4. The interview data collected were limited by the ability of interviewees to recall events within the time delimited.

Organization of the Thesis

The first chapter of the thesis introduces the study. The second presents a review of the literature related to organizational effectiveness and school improvements. Chapter 3 relates to the methodology of the study and includes a discussion of research strategies and procedures. Also discussed are the qualitatively based data collection techniques, including the analysis and research

trustworthiness techniques used in the study.

The fourth chapter comprises two sections: (1) the setting of and background to the study; and (2) the identification and description of the major themes and dimensions that are used to present the case. These themes and dimensions provide the framework in which the case data are presented in Chapter 5.

The sixth and final chapter has four sections: (1) the findings of the study and an explanation of the inter-relationships between the themes, dimensions and variables identified; (2) conclusions related to both the findings and the methodology of the study; (3) an examination of the congruence between the study's findings and the literature reviewed in Chapter 2; and (4) recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In the light of the interpretive perspective adopted for this study, this chapter presents a review of the literature relating to an interpretation systems model, school effectiveness and cultural change. The intent of the review is to present the research from both the school improvement (SI) and the instructionally effective school's (IES) perspectives and to provide additional insight for the use of interpretive methods of analysis in the investigation of school effectiveness and the process of cultural change in educational settings. The literature is revisited at the conclusion to the study in order to determine whether or not the assumptions made about educational change and school effectiveness are confirmed, and, if so, the degree to which they are confirmed.

To commence, a review of the interpretations system model is presented. Next, some of the various research studies associated with the construct of "school effectiveness" are identified. This review then focuses on the process of cultural change. Finally, current areas of concern and recommendations are identified.

An Interpretation Systems Model of Organizational Effectiveness

Schools may be regarded as reflecting the cultural image of the society in which they are created. Whether created in the cultural image of society or just observed through certain societal perspectives,

the complexity of contemporary high schools has provided organizational theorists, researchers and practicing educational administrators with the opportunity to develop an assortment of theories and models of schools as complex "human service organizations" (Hasenfeld, 1983). In this connection, Meyer (1978:19) states,

The notion that complex organizations mirror interpersonal and social complexities as well as economic and technological forces arising in their environment should be the cornerstone of our understanding of organizations.

According to researchers and theorists whose perspective focus on the place of interpretation systems to organizational effectiveness (Weick and Daft, 1983; Smircich, 1983; and Denzin, 1983), one of the major indications of effectiveness is the correspondence between interpretation systems and reality. Interpretation is "a process through which information is given meaning and actions are chosen" (Weick and Daft, 1983:87).

An Interpretations Systems Model (ISM) is presented by Weick and Daft (1983:73) as "an additional conceptualization of effectiveness, an additional set of variables, an additional set of measurement criteria." The ISM is presented as an addition to Boulding's (1956) hierarchical scale of effectiveness models based on a system's complexity as indicated in Table 2.1. The ISM is depicted as a level six model. Interpretation is indicated as the effectiveness issue

for systems that are differentiated into highly specialized information receptors that interact with the environment. Information about the external world must be filtered and processed into a central nervous system of sorts (Weick and Daft, 1983:74).

The model suggests that organizations are much more than input-output, resource-consuming or goal-seeking systems. Organizations also have mechanisms to interpret ambiguous events and to provide meaning for

participants. Organizations are (Weick and Daft, 1983:88) "as much meaning systems as they are input-output systems."

The model appears to provide a linkage between the more positivist-oriented general systems theorists (Katz and Kahn, 1966) and the interpretive interactional approaches of Denzin (1983), Smircich (1983), and Morgan (1983). Figure 2.1 indicates that "interpretation systems may vary in their assumptions about the environment and in their intrusiveness into the environment; organizations can be categorized according to interpretation modes or styles" (Weick and Daft, 1983:80).

		2	1
ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT NATURE OF ENVIRONMENT	Subjective	Glancing Nonlinear, constrained interpretations Rumour, hunch, other people, opportunistic actions	Enacting Nonlinear, intrusive interpretations Experimentation, stimu- lation, coercion, test- ing, invent environment
	S		
	0	Staring Logical, constrained interpretations Routine documents, reports, publications, information storage and retrieval, passive detection	Discovering Logical, intrusive interpretations Data collection, questioning, surveys, active
	Objective		
		Test-avoiding	Test-making
ORGANIZATIONAL INTRUSIVENESS			

(Weick and Daft, 1983:80)

Figure 2.1

Model of Organizational Interpretation Styles

S.1 The "Enacting style" is perceived to be indicative of an organiza-

tion that creates its own reality, its own environment. People in this type of organization are proactive with respect to their environment rather than reactive to it. They tend to interpret that the world is ready for something 'new' or at least different.

0.1 The "Discovering style" is also perceived to be an active organization. However, this style of interpretation requires an organization's management or boundary spanners to interpret an objectively existing reality. The present and future environmental needs are the focus of their interpretation systems. The data obtained would determine organizational interpretations of perceived environmental requirements and would then be translated into actions to meet the interpreted needs.

S.2 The "Glancing style" reflects a passive approach to a subjectively seen environment. Management and others tend to rely more on guesswork than on any formal attempt to ascertain the needs of their organization's external environment.

0.2 The "Staring style," unlike the passivity of the "glancing style" of organization, will tend to use the more traditional strategies associated with an objective, positivistic orientation, formal data collection and statistical data analysis. The "futures orientation" of this style of organization will be based on "scientific facts" rather than on interpretation systems.

Weick and Daft (1983) describe the ISM model in terms of three integrated themes: (1) theoretical issues; (2) research issues; and (3) practical issues.

Theoretical Issues

According to the assumptions that underlie interpretive systems, the notion of effectiveness

Table 2.1
Effectiveness Models and
Criterion Measures

Model	Effectiveness issues	Measurement
1. Framework	Arrangement of elements, resource deployment	Administrative ratio, direct-indirect labour
2. Clockwork	Stability, movement toward equilibrium	Retention, absenteeism, accidents, stability, turnover
3. Control system	Reaction to controller, feedback loops, organization as "tool"	Satisfaction, motivation, productivity, efficiency, compliance, reward structure
4. Open System	Acquire and transform resources, survival, seek goals	Resource acquisition, survival, profit, goal achievement
5. Growth system	Growth and adaptation, interplay among sub-units	Growth, innovation, adaptability, integration
6. Differentiated system	Specialized information reception, nervous system, choice processes, multiple and ambiguous goals	Interpretation of environment, decision processes, information management, goal consensus
7. Symbol processing system	High-order human characteristics: self-awareness, symbolism, meaning	Organizational self-awareness, language processes, affective dimensions, cause maps

(Weick and Daft, 1983:73)

1. does not relate to other "traditional" organizational variables such as structure and technology;
2. implies a measurable "quality" of the ability of key organizational personnel to make interpretations of an external reality;
3. indicates that a "stable framework of meaning" has been established in an organization;
4. posits that organizations are as much meaning systems as they are input-output systems;
5. may be related in some way to the "age" or "stage of development" of the organization; if "young," organizations will tend to be more likely to engage in "enacting" or discovering behavior to acquire their interpretations . . . (and) tend to be test makers rather than test avoiders (Weick and Daft, 1983:89).

Research Issues

The major research issues relating to the model of effectiveness based on interpretations systems include:

1. The indicator of effectiveness is the correspondence between interpretation and either an objective or subjective view of reality: when a subjective view of an external environment is adopted, reality is not fixed and a measurement of effectiveness becomes more difficult.
2. The determination of organizational effectiveness is dependent upon assumptions about the purpose and function of the organization. Effectiveness in one dimension may not be consistent nor comparable to effectiveness in another dimension of an organization.
3. There are no simple, tangible indicators of effectiveness. The important data pertain to "meaning." As Weick and Daft (1983:90) state, We may not be able to measure interpretation in any clear and

objective way. It is an individual process, incorporating such things as human consciousness and understanding, and these variables are not readily measurable. . . . Despite the methodological problems, we hope exploratory research is undertaken. To the extent that interpretations are a central function of organizations, any insight, however meagre, will enhance our understanding of organizations.

Practical Issues

The interpretation systems model of effectiveness suggests:

1. The job of management is to interpret, not to get the work of an organization done. According to Weick and Daft (1983:91), the role of management is seen to be "to make sense of things, to be aware of external events or cues, and to translate them into meaning for organizational participants."

2. The model provides managers with some possible alternative styles as indicated in Figure 2.1 They may improve their performance, and, in turn, their subordinates' performances by adopting different interpretation strategies. Weick and Daft (1983:91) indicate that action is better than inaction even if some actions tend to be counterintuitive.

3. As a diagnostic tool of effectiveness, managers will need to monitor interpretations rather than outcomes. They will have, suggest Weick and Daft (1983:91), to spend time learning the perceptions of participants in their organization and how these participants use their own interpretation systems within the organizational context.

The interpretation systems model has been questioned by Cummings (1983). He suggests that while the needs of cognitive psychologists and their theories may best be served by an approach such as ISM, neither the possibility of attaining more knowledge about effectiveness nor improved organizational effectiveness will be achieved through this

approach. An additional critique is expressed by Goodman et al. (1983). Their critique is not specifically directed at the ISM; rather, they "reject the need to search for a general OE construct space to provide the basis for the 'right set' of effectiveness measures" (Goodman et al., 1983:165). These writers argue that to date there are "no general or major relationships between OE and organizational variables that have been established theoretically or empirically" (Goodman et al., 1983:180). However, while more positivist oriented researchers may tend to refute the ISM, others, including Smircich (1983), Cusick (1981), Denzin (1983), and Pettigrew (1979), appear to indicate that an integrated approach, one that recognizes the complementarity of both objective and subjective research methodologies (Miles and Huberman, 1984, and Soltis, 1984), may provide researchers and practitioners broader insights into the meaning and practice of organizational effectiveness. Additional support for the integration of conceptual categories is provided by Ranson et al. (1980). Using the conceptual categories of provinces of meaning, power dependencies, and contextual constraints, they formulated a unified methodological and theoretical framework that permitted the incorporation of (Ranson et al., 1980:4)

. . . ostensibly disparate perspectives: phenomenological perspectives, which typically focus the micro level upon the intersubjective construction of meanings; and, traditional ahistorical organizational analysis of structural regularities; and broader socio-historical perspectives of economy and culture. Each is necessary to an adequate understanding of organizational construction and change.

School Effectiveness

The complex design of today's schools, especially high schools, tends to reflect the demands of a complex, industrialized society. The identification of effective schools and the means to create more of them

has become a pivotal concern of an increasing number of educational researchers and practitioners (Bickel, 1983; Boyer, 1984; Sizer, 1984; Hall et al., 1984; Clark et al., 1983). While there is broad agreement on the fundamental elements of effective schooling, there appears to be little agreement as to the description of the concept and the identification of the constructs and variables that indicate school effectiveness.

Controversy coupled with uncertainty pervades much of the literature on school effectiveness. Miskel (1982:1) suggests

the controversy surrounding school effectiveness shows no signs of abating and may intensify, since politicians, educators and members of the public remain concerned with the concept.

Similar views are expressed by Cameron (1984), Rowan (1983), and Hasenfeld (1983). A decade ago Spray (1976:166) noted,

The scientific assessment of organizational effectiveness is an extremely complex subject. . . . There is a growing theoretical unity and coherence in the study of organizational effectiveness; a unity based on a systems model of organizational functioning.

According to Mackenzie (1983:14), it is now time for a new generation of studies to

record the process of school improvement in enough detail to permit a clinical, if not an ethnographic analysis with which to verify the utility as well as the validity of our working concepts.

Conceptualizations of Effectiveness

The construct of school effectiveness is closely associated with conceptualizations of organizations in general. As previously noted, organizations have been conceptualized in a variety of ways in both educational and other organizational literature (Steers, 1977; Boulding, 1956; and Ratsoy, 1983). Among the numerous conceptualizations are

coalitions of constituencies (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978), the frying pan (Ratsoy, 1983), and the interpretation systems (Weick and Daft, 1983). As noted by Ratsoy (1983) and Cameron (1984), research conducted under each different conceptualization provides a focus on different phenomena, proposes different relationships among variables, and judges effectiveness differently.

All of the conceptualizations noted are, however, related to an ontology that tends to presuppose the existence of an organization as an object, a reified entity. In contrast, other researchers' perspectives tend more towards the subjective interpretive paradigm (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). These writers (Denzin, 1983; Smircich, 1983; Jones, 1983; and Morgan, 1983) contend that the interpretive perspective is deliberately nonscientific and nonpositivistic (Denzin, 1983:129). In this context the conceptualization of organizations provides the researcher with the opportunity to "learn the consensual meanings ascribed by a group of people to their experience and articulating the thematic relationships expressed in their meaning system" (Smircich, 1983:165). She points out that the cultural perspective acknowledges that "all forms of human organization, though apparently real, are in actuality constantly being enacted and made meaningful by their membership in their way" (Smircich, 1983:161).

Other researchers acknowledge the need for a holistic, cultural approach to the investigation of organizations (Purkey and Smith, 1982; Mackenzie, 1983; and Cusick, 1981). Mackenzie (1983) notes that the "gestalt phenomena" of the cultural perspective permits a school to be viewed as "a dynamic constellation in which the many dimensions of leadership, efficacy and efficiency should be viewed as a totality"

(Mackenzie, 1983:8). Purkey and Smith (1982:428) acknowledge that "no single element of school effectiveness can be considered in isolation from all the others or from the total situation in which it is found."

The apparent contradictions in many of the conceptualizations are noted by Weick (1977), Cameron (1984), Morgan (1980), and Weick and Daft (1983). However, these researchers also indicate that holding contradictory thoughts simultaneously in the mind is the most productive means of scholarly progress. Weick and Daft (1983) indicate that contradictory thoughts are central to their interpretations systems model.

While few areas of agreement are indicated in the literature to date, the contradictions associated with viewing effectiveness as a multiple conceptualization may be seen both as necessary and useful in capturing the complexity inherent in organizational phenomena. For, as Morgan (1980:615) points out,

Viewing organizations systematically as cybernetic systems, loosely coupled systems, ecological systems, theatres, cultures, political systems, language games . . . etc., it is possible to add rich and creative dimensions to organization theory.

The Construct of Effectiveness

The conceptual problem related to the notion of effectiveness is directly related to the nature of the effectiveness construct. Constructs are abstractions that provide meaning to ideas or mental images, indicates Cameron (1984:238). He adds that constructs can only exist in a person's mind, and they are only inferred from observable phenomena. The inference that may be taken from this definition of a construct is that the total meaning of a construct "can never be explicated because the meaning of a construct is, ultimately, a product

of mental imagery" (Cameron, 1984:239). A construct's imagery is therefore subject to individual systems of interpretation.

Intersubjective meaning is required if there is to be shared understanding of what constitutes effectiveness in theoretical models and in practical, everyday systems of organization. The image of effectiveness, and other complex constructs, should be treated as "representing an unmapped terrain" (Cameron, 1984:239), where different models and approaches add to the completeness of the map. A similar schema is noted by Bougon (1983). He suggests that in the tradition of mental structuralism (Levi-Strauss, 1963; Chomski, 1968), there is the perception that each person develops a deep-seated structure whose function it is to provide a sense of order and meaning to each new experience. As Turner (1983:189) indicates, this structuralist approach is guided by the hypothesis that various sets of cultural phenomena have a hidden structure and that these structures are members of a class of formal possibilities.

Therefore, notes Bougon (1983:181),

. . . when analyzing an organizational situation in terms of schemes, an analyst's attention is directed to projected aspects of participants externalities. But when he or she analyzes it in terms of the traditional discovery of the environment, his or her attention is directed to internalized representations of the discovered environment.

An implication of treating environments as enacted or projected is (Weick, 1979:28) "that unless something is attended to, it does not exist and that unless we possess a perceptual schema for something, "it" does not exist." Cameron (1984) notes that individual and group perceptions and preferences are not stable; changes occur as organizations progress. However, the nature of this instability may contribute to the sense of personal freedom for members of an

organization. The potential utility of an interpretation systems model provides an additional aid with which a researcher may seek to enquire of people in organizations concerning how they develop and maintain a sense of shared meaning, a sense of organization.

While the conceptualizations of effectiveness and its construct space appear problematic because of their respective numerous and often enigmatic portrayals, the literature (Steers, 1977; Ratsoy, 1983; Renihan and Renihan, 1984; and Cameron, 1984) suggests that "multiple models of effectiveness are not only necessary, but that different perspectives are very useful under different conditions" (Cameron, 1984:276). In addition, Cameron (1984) provides a nine-point guide to aid researchers and practitioners in their search for greater understanding of the construct space of organizational effectiveness and the different conceptualizations of organization.

1. Organizational effectiveness is a construct with unspecified boundaries. It is impossible, therefore, to produce one model of effectiveness that encompasses all relevant criteria.

2. Different conceptualizations of organizations produce different models of organizational effectiveness. Because developers of organizational conceptualizations are interested in completeness more than in accuracy, multiple conceptualizations are both possible and desirable.

3. Criteria for judging organizational effectiveness are founded in the preferences and values of individuals. Individual differences preclude consensus regarding one universal set of criteria.

4. Criteria of effectiveness are time constrained, so that depending on when effectiveness is assessed, or depending on whether a

long-term view or a short-term view is taken, criteria differ in their relevance.

5. It is easier for individuals to identify and agree on criteria of ineffectiveness than criteria of effectiveness. Problems and faults in organizations serve to circumscribe the construct space of ineffectiveness more narrowly than success and desirable outcomes circumscribe effectiveness.

6. Different models of organizational effectiveness are useful in different circumstances. None of the major models of effectiveness supersedes all others, so that each model possesses some legitimacy in organizational assessments.

7. Researchers can make additions to the literature on organizational effectiveness by selecting a model of effectiveness that is congruent with the specific circumstances being considered. Limiting the scope of any investigation by means of a series of critical questions permits a comparable and cumulative literature to emerge.

8. Organizational effectiveness lies on a continuum ranging from ineffectiveness to high effectiveness. Criteria indicating each end of this continuum are qualitatively different.

9. Identifying strategies for improving organizational effectiveness may be more precisely done by analyzing organizational ineffectiveness as opposed to organizational effectiveness.

There are those writers (Scott, 1981; Ratsoy, 1983; and Thompson, 1967) who indicate that there is no best way to organize, and similarly, as D'Amico (1982:62) states, "There are no recipes for creating effective schools." However, attempts to find "recipes" continue.

Research from both the IES and SI perspectives has provided

information concerning effective schools. The following sections of this chapter provide a review of the literature from both of these research perspectives.

The Instructionally Effective School and the School Improvement Movements

The call for school reform is especially clamorous at the high school level. Researchers, theorists and practitioners have focused their attention on both schools identified by specific criteria as being effective, and on the development and examination of programs that have been designed to "disseminate characteristics of effectiveness to schools in need of improvement" (Bickel, 1983:3). Serious questions are being raised (Rowan, 1983; Mackenzie, 1983; Bickel, 1983; Sizer, 1984), about some of the most commonly accepted findings including their strengths, their causal relationships, and their implications for dissemination through school improvement processes. There is general agreement among the writers noted as well as others (Purkey and Smith, 1983; Rowan, 1983; Hall et al., 1984; Cole et al., 1984) that a "critical look at current findings will point the way toward the . . . area in need of attention, namely, the design of a research agenda for the future that can fill gaps in our existing knowledge."

A review of the research literature on school effectiveness from each of the two perspectives, IES and SI, is presented below.

The Instructionally Effective School Movement

The origin of the IES movement is said to be in the Weber (1970) studies. The IES movement is based on a set of assumptions that include

1. the appropriate level at which to focus educational reform efforts is the individual school;

2. schools can be identified that are unusually effective in teaching poor and minority children skills as measured by some form of standardized tests;

3. these successful schools exhibit characteristics that are correlated with their success and that lie well within the domain of educators to manipulate; and

4. the characteristics of successful schools provide a basis for improving schools not deemed to be successful.

The IES literature, notes Clark et al., (1984), has recently taken on a prescriptive tone; "not only is schooling argued to matter, but also specific school characteristics are cited as associated with successful outcomes" (Clark et al., 1984:41). In addition, the literature acknowledges that quantitative research methodologies and data are central to the findings of the IES. In a detailed interpretation of the "evidence on school effectiveness," Murnane (1981:25) points out,

Quantitative research on school effectiveness began with a broadly specified input-output model that was agnostic on the role played by particular school resources. . . . It is on . . . human resources that researchers should concentrate, since they are poorly understood, play a central role in policy choices, and appear to dominate other resources.

At the high school level of schooling, Hall et al., (1983:58) indicate that there is major resistance to change at the school level.

While high schools don't think they are as bad as the media claim, they're also not as good as they'd like to be. What we need now are clear strategies and processes to bring change about.

This retrenchment image of high schools is echoed by Ducharme (1982), cited by Hall et al., (1983:59), "high schools will change when dogs learn to sing. . . . They're only interested in their subject areas."

The stereotypic image of each high school as being atypical pervades much of the existing research and is further reflected on by Hall et al., (1983:62). They suggest that

high schools seem to run themselves. Long-established systems and procedures preserve the routine while the occasional anomaly is resolved on a case-by-case basis. For any particular issue, how decisions get made and who makes them is anything but straightforward and common across schools. The unwritten norms and rules of functioning are difficult to map or predict. Clever plans will be needed for integrating new innovations into the present routines or for breaking established patterns and implementing major reforms.

As noted, IES research seeks to identify characteristics that are common to effective schools in general. A recent body of literature (Murphy and Hallinger, 1985, and Levine, 1985) indicates that there is a need for cultural change. In addition, (Levine, 1985:56-57), the organizational environment of many schools, their cultures, was shaped years ago by a recognizable but outdated set of forces: a mostly female teaching force, and a "captive, high-quality teaching workforce; and working conditions that were once tolerated or tolerable (but, for many teachers) are no longer . . . this combination of organized structure and these forces shaped and defined the culture of the schools."

A number of researchers including Rowan (1983), Mackenzie (1983), and Rutherford et al. (1983) have reviewed the literature of school effectiveness and identified the dimensions of effective schools. The findings of these and other researchers are presented in the following section.

Dimensions of Effective Schools

Effective high schools have been identified as providing a support anchor that has the following components: a sense of self, a personality (Lightfoot, 1983); a clear sense of purpose, a core set of

standards, high expectations, and a sense of orderliness and community (Murphy and Hallinger, 1985); strong administrative leadership, a safe and orderly climate, emphasis on basic skills and a system of monitoring based on high expectations (Fairman and Clark, 1985); and, as being

vital, changing, interacting groups of people not to be represented by checklists, but, rather, by a "syndrome" or "culture" of mutually reinforcing expectations or activities (Purkey and Smith, 1982:426).

However, Farrar et al. (1984) and Mackenzie (1983) are among those writers who appear to be in agreement with Clark et al. (1984:49) that when one finally comes to a summary section, "expectations are held out for authors. . . . No matter how the a priori demurs are phrased, the anticipated synthesis of research findings loses the feel of a syndrome or culture."

As a "best guess" about what is known from the school effectiveness literature, Clark et al (1984) and Mackenzie (1983) provide a table of dimensions that depict core and facilitating elements of effective schools and schooling (Table 2.2). In addition, Clark et al. (1984) provide a series of four related propositions that suggest: (1) schools differ in effectiveness; (2) people matter most in schools; (3) effective schools are characterized by specific tasks including the monitoring of student achievement and the maintenance of a supportive climate for work and learning; and (4) the reason why effective schools exist, are sustained, fail to emerge, or fail over time is unclear. The key, however, suggest Clark et al. (1984:50),

lies in the people who postulate particular schools at particular times and their interaction within these organizations. The search for excellence in schools is the search for excellence in people.

In this context, the most often cited dimension of effective schools is

Table 2.2

Dimensions of Effective Schools and Schooling

LEADERSHIP DIMENSIONS:Core Elements

Positive climate and overall atmosphere

Goal-focused activities toward clear, attainable and relevant objectives

Teacher-directed classroom management and decision making

In-service staff training for effective teaching

Facilitating Elements

Shared consensus on values and goals

Long-range planning and co-ordination

Stability and continuity of key staff

District-level support for school improvement

EFFICACY DIMENSIONS:Core Elements

High and positive achievement expectations with a constant press for excellence

Visible rewards for academic excellence and growth

Co-operative activity and group interaction in the classroom

Total staff involvement with school improvement

Autonomy and flexibility to implement adaptive practices

Appropriate levels of difficulty for learning tasks

Teacher empathy, rapport, and personal interaction with students

Facilitating Elements

Emphasis on homework and study

Positive accountability; acceptance of responsibility for learning outcomes

Strategies to avoid nonpromotion of students

De-emphasis of strict ability grouping; interaction with more accomplished peers

EFFICIENCY DIMENSIONS:Core Elements

Effective use of instructional time; amount and intensity of engagement in school learning

Orderly and disciplined school and classroom environments

Continuous diagnosis, evaluation, and feedback

Well-structured classroom activities

Instruction guided by content coverage

Schoolwide emphasis on basic and higher order skills

Facilitating Elements

Opportunities for individualized work

Number and variety of opportunities to learn

(Adapted from Mackenzie, 1983:8)

leadership.

Leadership is, perhaps, the most pervasive dimension of effectiveness cited in the IES literature. The theme noted by Blumberg and Greenfield (1983) is that "it takes a unique person to help give a school: first, an image of what it can be; and second, to provide the drive, support and skills to make that image approximate reality." Lipham (1980:4), reporting on the reports of participants in a fellowship program on educational leadership at George Washington University, noted the following descriptions:

Good principals tend to rock the boat. . . . Effective schools have effective leaders . . . the principal principle--the notion that a strong administration with vision and with ability to carry out the goals can make an enormous difference in a school . . . effective principals work closely with school personnel.

Rutherford et al. (1983:5) provide an extensive overview of the literature on leadership and the school principal. They note that like the concept of effectiveness, theories and models of effective leadership abound. The recurring theme in the IES literature is that the principal's two major areas of responsibility are instructional leadership and management. Rutherford et al. (1983:81) indicate that "a large array of studies convey the message that if schools are to improve, principals have to take the lead in providing teachers with instructional leadership." They add that the actual behaviours of principals in facilitating school and instructional improvement have been described by Cotton and Savarch (1980) as follows:

1. Frequent observation and/or participation in classroom instruction.
2. Communicating clearly to staff what is expected of them as instructional facilitators.

3. Making decisions about the instructional program.
4. Active involvement in program planning and evaluation.
5. Maintaining high standards.

How principals attempt to incorporate their roles as instructional leaders with their roles as institutional managers is, suggests Rutherford (1983:82), "the greatest dilemma of the principalship." This dilemma is especially significant in the context of high schools.

That productive organizations are led by skillful managers is acknowledged in the literature (Peters and Waterman, 1982; Levine, 1985; Clark et al., 1984; and Tichy and Ulrich, 1983). Effective leaders lead effective organizations whether schools or corporations. Levine (1985) points out that the effective leader is involved in the culture change process. She and other writers express a similar viewpoint:

The business literature teaches us something about the kind of leadership that is associated with taking an organization through successful change. Successful leaders, dubbed "transformational leaders," do more than manage the structure, human resources, and mission of their organizations. They delve into the political and cultural systems and direct and oversee dramatic change in them. Transformational leaders understand particularly well the roles played by culture in organizations, to explain why . . . and to provide a way of understanding what is going on and what is right. Strong cultures help organizations engender commitment. Transformational leaders articulate new values or goals to meet changed environments, reemphasize or streamline admissions, and do certain things to implement those changes. They use . . . change levers and role modeling, symbolic acts, creation of rituals, the revamping of human resource systems (staffing, evaluation, development, and rewards) and of management process systems (Tichy and Ulrich, 1983:18).

Similar examples of the importance of leadership to organizational effectiveness are provided by Smircich and Morgan (1982) and Firestone and Wilson (1985).

In a study of leadership in an insurance company, Smircich and Morgan (1982:15) suggest that the concept of leadership "permeates the

structures of theory and practice of organizations and hence the way we shape and understand the nature of organized action, and its possibilities." These authors further suggest that the leader's action may generate a variety of interpretations that set the basis for meaningful action, and (Smircich and Morgan, 1982:262) that "organized situations are often characterized by patterns of meaning based on rival interpretations of the same situations."

The role of the school principal is discussed by Firestone and Wilson (1985:7). These authors offer the perspective that

the task of the Principal is consistently employed to a diverse range of (bureaucratic and cultural) linkages through a multitude of major and minor actions to generate a common purpose and effect in the school.

Expanding on the perspective of bureaucratic and cultural linkage mechanisms within schools, these authors suggest that when a principal "turns around" a school (Firestone and Wilson, 1985:21) "the change is usually in the student climate and the discipline situation, especially at the high school level." They conclude that principals' tasks and challenges are to develop a clear vision of the purposes of the school and to carry the vision consistently so that: (1) bureaucratic linkages may be used to create opportunities for teachers to follow that vision and minimize changes to operate in different ways; and (2) cultural linkages may be used to communicate that vision so that, to a greater or lesser extent, the vision becomes the teachers' own culture.

The "bias for action" (Peters and Waterman, 1982) within excellent corporations is being increasingly recognized in the context of schooling. This bias for action in both instructional and management dimensions is also noted in the IES literature to be a characteristic of the effective principal. However, of no lesser significance is the

literature's recognition of the need for principals to be facilitators of cultural change. "These are difficult changes to make. They require some understanding of the differences in culture, but they represent a real opportunity for effective change in schools" (Levine, 1985:68).

Research on school effectiveness conducted from the perspective of researchers in the IES movement has identified a number of propositions, dimensions, and characteristics that are said to be common to effective schools. However, as noted by Mackenzie (1983) and Clark et al. (1984), the IES research findings provide little more than a "best guess" about how to improve the instructional effectiveness of individual schools.

As an alternative research orientation to the IES movement, a body of literature has been generated by researchers who have expressed criticism of studies that have been conducted from the IES perspective. This alternative approach to the study of school effectiveness is described as the SI movement.

The School Improvement Movement

School effectiveness studies are criticized by proponents of the SI movement (Rowan, 1983; Wood et al., 1984; and Boyer, 1984). A cautionary note by Rowan (1983:24) regarding IES research points out that these studies have "several conceptual methodological shortcomings that call into question (their) utility both as model(s) for future research and as a source of findings that can guide school improvement and practice."

The foci of SI research are processes, people, innovations and resources. The SI researcher seeks answers to the following questions (Clark et al., 1984:5):

1. What processes and procedures facilitate effective school

improvement programs?

2. How do people affect the school improvement process?
3. What characteristics of an innovation influence successful dissemination, utilization, and institutionalization?
4. What resources are required to support a school improvement program?

These authors, however, indicate that the propositions established by proponents of the SI movement are similar to those previously noted for the IES movement. The SI propositions suggest that

1. public schools and school systems can and do improve;
2. school improvement programs initiated by government agencies work; and
3. professional educationists are capable of effecting positive educational changes.

A national study of planned change in schools (Rutherford and Huling-Austin, 1984) found a total of 380 changes occurred in seventeen schools over a two year period, 1982-84. The changes, noted in Table 2.3, indicate that the majority of changes were made in curriculum and instruction (33.4%) and in the administration and organizational area (33.7%). These data (Rutherford and Huling-Austin, 1984) reflect a philosophy that has dominated education for more than a quarter of a century--that a piece-meal approach to educational change can improve school effectiveness.

These concerns are shared by Goodlad (1983), Cross (1984), and Kanter (1983). Cross (1984:170), for example, contends that the majority of efforts towards the achievement of school effectiveness are

. . . mechanical, . . . short-term, . . . define minimal standards . . . and also stifle the spirit of innovation and

experimentation that researchers are finding so essential to excellent organizations.

A more positive report on the SI movement is provided by Mackenzie (1983). He sees SI as a movement towards "the Deweyan ideal of a pragmatic science . . . as the organized efforts to implement effective practice at the building and district levels . . . an ethnomethodology of school improvement" (Mackenzie, 1983:13). In support of this holistic, cultural view of the SI movement, Smircich (1983) and Mackenzie (1983) appear in agreement with Purkey and Smith (1982:13) that a school is a "small culture" that is

a more or less loose knit social organization, and not a fine piece of machinery . . . nothing will work all the time. Almost anything that makes sense will work more often than not if it is implemented with enough self-criticism and zest.

Educators and others engaged in the process of school improvement may differ in their perceptions of the same events (McCarthy et al., 1980). There is much that is already known, notes Mackenzie (1983:13); however,

there is a great deal more to be learned from the ethnomethodology of school improvement if the processes of guided change are observed with enough patience and care. School success means different things to different actors on the scene, and the ways these different actors judge progress toward their goals is critical to the process of implementation. Such interior aspects of school improvement deserve to be recorded in more detail.

(Clark et al. (1983:63) suggest that the two approaches to educational reform may be more similar than dissimilar in their perspectives: "Could not both movements . . . be representative of schools with active committed people who try to discover techniques that work which they retrospectively weave into a more rational schema." They further suggest that perhaps the single most important indicator of both effective schools and schools which desire to become more effective

Table 2.3
Recent Changes in High Schools

Category	Recent Changes in High Schools	
	Raw Total	Percent of Total
<u>Curriculum/Instruction</u>		
Influencing instruction procedures	14	3.7
Review or revise curriculum	89	23.4
Introduce new course	24	6.3
Subtotals	127	33.4
<u>Student Non-Academic Development</u>		
Managing or controlling student behaviour	30	7.9
Influencing student welfare/attitudes	29	7.6
Extra-curriculum	19	5.0
Subtotals	78	20.5
<u>Professional/Personal Performance</u>		
Influence teacher professional performance	15	3.9
Influence administrator performance	3	.8
Influence teacher welfare and personal development	5	1.3
Teacher preparation/recruitment	0	0
Teacher selection, assignment and retention	0	0
Other	1	.3
Subtotals	24	6.3
<u>Administration/Organization</u>		
Staffing, scheduling, planning, etc.	83	21.9
Influence operational efficiency	21	5.5
New guidelines/standards	10	2.6
Change in contextual factors, i.e. enrollment, make-up of student population, finances	8	2.1
Organization reform	4	.8
Other	2	.9
Subtotals	128	33.7
<u>School Facilities</u>		
Change for instruction	4	1.05
Change for aesthetics	4	1.05
Other	1	.3
Subtotals	9	2.4
<u>External Relations</u>		
Public relations	5	1.3
Communications	9	2.4
Other	14	3.7
Subtotals	28	7.4
TOTALS	380	100.0

(Adapted from Rutherford and Huling-Austin, 1984:43)

is their "bias for action." However, they, like Rowan (1984), Sizer (1984), and others offer a similar caution: "Limitations of theory and technique should lead anyone away from approaching this literature as a recipe for school success" (Clark et al., 1984:65). At best, the present combination of SI and IES literature may be providing little more than what Ralph and Fennessey (1983) describe as "a rhetoric of school reform . . . a set of normative principles."

This review of both the IES and SI literature indicates the complexity of the task that faces both researchers and practitioners as they seek to resolve the "enigma of school effectiveness" (Miskel, 1982). The lack of consensus in both the research and practical domains of the literature as to (1) what constitutes an effective school; and (2) the processes through which a school may become more effective, suggests that there is a continued need for further study into how individuals interpret a school situation and how they attempt to attain and maintain a sense of organization--that is, a sense of being an effective school.

Cultural Change

All movements of school reform imply that change must occur either at the level of the individual school, school district, or at some broader level. The problem, suggests Fullan (1982:4), is

finding meaning in change . . . the neglect of the phenomenology of change--that is, how people actually experience change as distinct from how it might be intended--is at the heart of the spectacular lack of success of most social reforms.

Cultural change occurs when there is a shift in the system (Pettigrew, 1979:574) "of such publicly and collectively accepted meanings operating for a given group at a given time." However, the

more complex the culture, the greater the researcher's difficulty in "discovering the connections between the apparently bizarre and the apparently mundane in organizational life" (March, 1980:38). Organizational life, its culture, is a pattern or "stream of evolving relationships" (Burns, 1978:439) between symbolic forms. Smircich (1983:164) suggests that this "makes labelling discrete cause-and-effect relationships inappropriate and impossible. What we are after, instead, is an understanding and an elaboration of the wider context of social action"--that is, of changing relationships between people.

That change is a process and not an event is a generally accepted theme in the literature (Fullan, 1982; March, 1980; Clark et al., 1984). However, Smircich (1983:169) notes that to the researcher studying organizations as cultures, the "heart of the analysis . . . is the elaboration of key themes that are built up from multiple sources of data." This approach stresses that change is a natural consequence of the active role that people play in enacting their organizational reality and in developing shared interpretations for their experience.

The problem of "finding meaning in change" is, suggests Fullan (1982), the central concern of educational researchers. He adds that researchers should be concerned with

. . . what change looks like from the point of view of (others) if we are to understand their actions and reactions; and if we are to comprehend the big picture, we must combine the aggregate knowledge of individual situations with an understanding of organizational and interorganizational factors which influence the process of change.

The interactive and interpretive dimensions of the everyday world are essential dimensions to the notion of cultural change. Together they form (Denzin, 1983:128) "the twin phenomenological and interactional streams of consciousness, which situate the person in the lived life

world."

Cavan (1974:346) similarly suggests that cultural change is evidenced in the "temporal recordings of such regularities as time tables of people's interactions, their routine activities, their felt (and unfelt) authority, and the language and meaning structures" within a school or other organization.

The concept of change, like that of school effectiveness, has a multitude of metaphors; birth, growth, evolution, decay, and even death are used to describe a change in organizations suggest Sanders (1983) and March (1980). Similar metaphors are employed by other researchers. Pettigrew (1979:573), for example, cites the works of Selznick (1957) and Clark (1972). He indicates that both researchers write of "sagas" and "social dramas" as "the embodiment of values in an organizational structure through statements of mission, program of activity, selective recruitment, and socialization."

Commenting on the benefits that a research design built around the analysis of an historical study of cultural change affords to researchers, Pettigrew (1979:572) suggests,

It affords the opportunity to study the development of organizational cultures and . . . how purpose, commitment, and order are generated in an organization through . . . feelings and actions . . . and through the amalgam of beliefs, ideology, language, ritual, and myth we collapse into the label of organizational culture.

Recognizing the efficacy of Pettigrew's (1979) comments to this study, the researcher adopted a similar research design, an historical organizational case study (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982) in order to conduct the study of cultural change in an inner-city high school.

Summary of the Chapter

The researcher agrees with Sizer (1983) that high schools are complex organizations, and with Cuban (1983) and Sleeter (1982) who acknowledge that no one knows how to make all schools effective, the definition of effectiveness is unclear and lacks consensus, effectiveness is a constricted construct, and that insufficient research has been conducted in individual high schools.—

At present the school effectiveness literature contains a variety of descriptions, prescriptions and modes for the attainment of greater effectiveness in high schools. There appears, however, to be a shortage of formal research, particularly research in the inductive mode, that attempts to determine "what is" rather than impose preconceived assumptions upon the area to be investigated. The predominant procedure (Blumer, 1969:32-33) is

to take for granted ones premises about the nature of the empirical world and not to examine these premises. . . . Instead of going to the empirical world in the first and last instances, resort is made instead to a priori theoretical schemes, to sets of unverified concepts, and to canonized protocols of research procedures.

Literature and research in the area of organizational and school effectiveness and cultural change indicate that there is a need to study the "very active role that people play in enacting their organization's reality and in developing interpretations for their experiences" (Smircich, 1983:171). The purpose of this approach to the study of people who are organized, according to Smircich (1983:163), "is diagnostic, to get at how organizations work . . . and what it means to be organized." In this context, the concepts of organizational effectiveness provided by Smircich (1983) and Weick and Daft (1983) together with leadership concepts provided by Smircich and Morgan (1982)

and Firestone and Wilson (1985) were seen to be appropriate to the study of cultural change in an inner-city high school.

The third chapter of this thesis describes the methodology and procedures used during the research.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to investigate, describe and explain how a group of people in an inner-city high school were able to attain a sense of organization; that is, a more effective school. In this chapter, the appropriateness of the methodology is explained and the data collection and analysis procedures are presented.

Given that the fields of study into school effectiveness and change processes in high school cultures have such varied bases of theory, and similarly, given that the beliefs and activities of key actors in the school on changes in the school's culture have not been formally ascertained, an inductive study to determine the interpretations of those persons identified as key actors to the past events in the school was considered to be appropriate.

It was anticipated that a descriptive and interpretive case study employing qualitative research strategies would shed light on some aspects of how an inner-city high school became more effective. Denzin (1978; 1983), Glaser and Strauss (1966) and Glaser (1978) describe similar methods by which social scientists can ground their research and theory in the reality they are studying. The approach noted allows (Glaser and Strauss, 1966:56) "important concepts, basic categories and significant hypotheses" to emerge and avoids the charges that the data may be forced to fit predetermined categories. This general strategy guided this study. The views of people identified as key actors

(Dexter, 1970) were obtained using the field research techniques of elite interviewing and a variety of other strategies identified by Denzin (1978) as "unobtrusive measures."

The overall design of the study consisting of the historical organizational case study (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982) was used to provide descriptive data from the period 1979-83. This study focuses on the continuous processes as they related to questions of the establishment of organizational goals, their emergence and transformation, and to changes in systems of beliefs, power relationships and culture.

This chapter commences with an account of the foundation elements used by researchers in the social sciences. This is followed by an analysis of the use of triangulation strategies in this study and an outline of the study's convergent research methodologies. The next section describes the qualitative research strategies considered to be appropriate for the study, and the final two sections relate to the procedures used to (1) collect, analyze and report data; and (2) to ensure that trustworthiness was maintained throughout the study.

Foundation Elements in Social Science Research

In a discussion of the basic problems of dealing with social science research, Turner (1979:227) suggests that research is not concerned with either the production of fantasies about the world, or with mere mechanical fact gathering. There is, however, in social enquiry, he adds,

an interaction between the researcher and the world, and in this interaction, the "quality" of the properties of the world must be recognized and respected by the researcher. Research analysis is the process of teasing out these properties and gaining a fuller understanding of them.

The field of educational administration, like other fields of study in the context of the social sciences, rests (Denzin, 1978) on four elements: theory, methodology, research activity and researcher imagination. These elements form the foundation upon which all studies within the social sciences are built. Denzin (1978:6-7) describes each of the four elements as follows:

Theory represents an integrated body of propositions, the derivations of which lead to an explanation of some social phenomena. The purpose of theory is to give order and insight to what is, or can be observed.

Methodologies represent the principal ways in which social scientists act on their environments. The methodologies, be they experiments, surveys, or case studies, lead to different features of an observed or interpreted reality. It is through their methods that social scientists make their research public and, possibly, reproducible by others.

The personal preferences of social scientists to conduct studies into a particular problem area and their preferences in selecting particular theories and methods constitute the research activity of a researcher.

Imagination, in considerable part, consists of the capacity of a researcher to shift from one perspective to another. The researcher's use of creative imagination permits a process of interpretation that may result in what Mills (1959) cited by Denzin (1978) denotes as a "build up of an adequate view of a total society and its components." Commenting further on the notion of imagination, Mills (1959:211-212) cited by Denzin (1978), notes,

It is the imagination, of course, that sets off the social scientist from the mere technician. . . . There is a playfulness of mind back of such combining (of perspectives and interpretations) as well as a truly fierce drive to make sense of the world. . . . (The social scientist) clings to such vague images and notions . . . and must work them out. For it is in such forms that original ideas, if any, almost always first appear.

The need to establish a sound research foundation on which to build theory is noted by Guba (1978), LeCompte and Goetz (1982), and Guba and Lincoln (1982). The expressed belief of these writers is that researchers should venture outside of the experimental laboratory in order to establish a research base that is both "rich" and "thick" on description, analysis and theorizing.

In addition, they recommend that a researcher should attempt to use triangulated strategies at each stage of a research process. The use of triangulated strategies is also noted in the writings of Denzin (1978), Pettigrew (1979), and Bartunek (1984). As in Pettigrew's (1979) study of a private school, this study used an inductive approach to focus on the cultural change that occurred in an inner-city high school.

Triangulation

The use of triangulated or convergent methodologies as a research strategy within the social sciences is recommended in an increasing body of literature (Jick, 1979; Miles and Huberman, 1984; Soltis, 1984; and Denzin, 1978). The use of triangulation, however, is not new. Jick (1979), for example, points out that there is a distinct tradition in the literature on social science that advocates the use of multiple methods. Denzin (1978:291), similarly, discusses the value of using a combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon. In a

related context, the use of integrated or interactionist theoretical frameworks in social science research are noted by Smircich (1983), Burrell and Morgan (1982), and Denzin (1983).

Triangulation is broadly defined by Denzin (1978:291-307) as "the coordination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomena." He notes that the use of triangulation within the social sciences can be traced back to Campbell and Fiske (1959) who developed the idea of "multiple operationism." The argument he advanced in favour of triangulated methodologies is that more than one method should be used in the research validation process to ensure that the "variance reflected that of the condition or event being investigated and not the method." Similarly, the convergence or agreement between two methods, suggests Bouchard (1976:268), "enhances our belief that the results are valid and not a methodological artifact."

Jick (1979), citing from an extensive body of related literature, notes that triangulation is the blending and integration of a variety of data and methods and that the process may be viewed as being performed at one or other points on a continuum that ranges from a simple to a complex design. The more holistic or complex a study's design, the greater the need for in-depth qualitative data to both complement and to provide the grounding for quantitative data. He adds that triangulation

can also capture a more complete, holistic, and contextual portrayal of the unit(s) under study . . . the use of multiple measures may also uncover unique variance which otherwise may have been neglected by single methods.

A broader view of triangulation is provided by Denzin (1978). Using the concept of "multiple triangulation," he advocates that researchers use a combination of two or more triangulation strategies in each of four types of triangulation: (1) data triangulation; (2) theory

triangulation; (3) methodological triangulation; and (4) investigator triangulation. Following the advice of Denzin (1978:30), this study attempted to utilize each of the four strategies in order to "overcome the intrinsic bias that comes from single-method, single-observer and single-theory studies."

The four strategies of triangulation identified by Denzin (1978) are summarized below.

Data triangulation. This strategy refers to the collection, analysis and interpretation of data that are obtained from more than one source. Subtypes of this strategy may include those of "time," "space," and "person"; however, because these subtypes are interrelated, a study on one demands a study of the others. Additional analytical categorizations noted in this strategy are the aggregate, interactive, and collective levels of the "person" subtype.

Theory triangulation. Theoretical triangulation is an element that few investigations achieve, suggests Denzin (1978:297-298). The strategy involves the use of more than one theoretical approach, the "pitting of alternative theories against the same body of data." Through the use of theoretical triangulation the researcher is considered better able, at the conclusion of a study, to formulate propositions that are based on interpretations of data generated from a grounded approach to a "reformulated theoretical system."

Methodological triangulation. Differentiations are noted between "within-method" triangulation and "across-method" triangulation. The former method is used when observational units are seen as being multidimensional. Denzin (1978:301) notes that in this context "the

investigator takes one method and employs multiple strategies within that method to examine data."

The "across-method" triangulation combines dissimilar methods to assess the same unit of investigation. In support of this strategy Denzin cites Webb et al. (1966:174) in noting that

no single measurement class is perfect, neither is any scientifically useless . . . when an hypothesis can survive the confrontation of a series of complementary methods of testing it contains a degree of validity unattainable by one tested within the more constricted framework of a single method.

However, notes Denzin (1978:303), when selecting to use multiple methodologies, caution must be taken in each of three potential problem areas:

- a) the nature of the research problem and its relevance to a particular method should be assessed;
- b) each method's strengths and weaknesses should be acknowledged; and
- c) all methods should be selected with an eye to their theoretical relevance.

Investigator triangulation. The triangulation of observers is seen (Denzin, 1978:302) to "remove the potential bias that comes from a single person and ensures a greater reliability of observations." In the context of this study the use of multiple observers was considered impractical. However, through the use of the audit-trail process (Guba, 1981; Guba and Lincoln, 1982), the interpretation of data collected by a single researcher may be proven "trustworthy." (The notion of trustworthiness is considered later in this chapter.)

The strategies of triangulation noted above were instrumental to

the formulation of the theoretical framework, data collection procedures, and methodology and research design adopted in this study. As previously noted, strategies of triangulation used in this study were: (1) a theoretical framework comprised of the Interpretation Systems Model and the interpretive approach to qualitative enquiry, (2) data collection procedures that involved both interviews and the collection of historical survey data, minutes of meetings, and related media material, (3) triangulated methodologies which permitted the researcher to interpret self and other people's interpretations of events, and (4) appropriate research strategies to ensure the trustworthiness of both the data collected, the interpretations made, and the subsequent propositions formulated.

The next section of this chapter provides a description of the qualitative research methodology that was used in the study.

Qualitative Research Methodology

The use of qualitative research in the study of education and educational settings (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982:4) brings the "study of human beings as human beings to centre stage. It represents a fundamental rejection of the ultimately irrational pursuit to quantify all aspects of human belief and experience." Rist (1979:18) notes that "the decision on the style of research one chooses to employ should be a matter of informed judgement, not of orthodoxy." The informed judgement obtained by the researcher suggested that a qualitative research methodology, an historical organizational case study, was appropriate to this study.

As previously noted, there has been increasing interest in recent years in both qualitative research methodologies and in the use of

convergent methodologies. While the former are mainly concerned with the generation of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), the latter, which may involve triangulated methods consisting of both qualitative and quantitative dimensions (Miles and Huberman, 1984), have attempted to provide a more holistic, more trustworthy approach to social research.

Das (1983:302-305) suggests that "it is as if qualitative research is slowly becoming more respectable." He adds that the emerging interest in qualitative research may be founded upon a number of factors, including:

1. an increasing distrust and scepticism among organizational observers of findings emerging from studies using only survey or laboratory experimental research;
2. an increasing preference for a more holistic view of organizational behaviour;
3. an increasing preference for studies of human behaviour in organizations to be conducted in their natural environment.
4. an increasing awareness that in order to capture the complex, multi-dimensional behaviour patterns of people in organizations, complex, open-ended research designs are almost a necessity;
5. the realization that qualitative observations may generate unexpected phenomena which, in turn, form the basis of new hypotheses; and
6. the recognition that certain organizational phenomena cannot be validly measured at all without using qualitative techniques.

A comparative analysis of major sociological methods in terms of the principles of the qualitative research approach symbolic interactionism (Denzin, 1978:29) indicates that among the five major

research methods used in the social sciences, only the methods of participant observation and historical analysis provide consistently high ratings on a scale that records how well each method permits the researcher to (1) combine symbols with interaction, (2) take the role of the observer, (3) enter the subject's world and link the subject's meanings to the world, (4) record the behaviour settings of observation, (5) reflect change and process, and (6) sensitize concepts. These methods and their relative positions on a "high to low" scale are indicated in Table 3.1. (The use of symbolic interactionism as one of the convergent methodologies used in this study is discussed later in this chapter.)

The Qualitative Research Method in Education

"Educational research is changing," suggest Bogdan and Biklen (1982:xiii). They add that the field of educational research once dominated by methods traditionally associated with the natural or physical sciences--for example, measurement, operationalized definitions, variables, and empirical fact, has "had to make room for a research approach gaining in popularity, one that emphasizes inductive analysis, description, and the study of people's perceptions."

The increasing popularity of qualitative research approaches in the field of education is noted in studies by Metz (1984), Bartunek (1984), Cusick (1981), and Wolcott (1973). In addition, a text authored by Bogdan and Biklen (1982:30) suggests that qualitative researchers in education can continually be found asking questions of the people they are learning from to discover "what they are experiencing, how they interpret their experiences, and how they themselves structure the social world in which they live."

Table 3.1

Comparison of Major Sociological Methods in Terms of
the Principles of Symbolic Interactionism

	Experiment	Survey	Participant observation	Unobtrusive methods	Historical methods
Combines symbols and interaction	Possible	Seldom	High	Low	High
Takes role of the observed	Seldom	Seldom	High	Low	High
Enters sub- ject's social worlds and links symbols to them	Seldom	Possible but seldom	High	Low, difficult	High
Records behaviour settings	High, with rigour	Possible but seldom	High	Moderate	High
Reflects change and process	High, but probabilis- tic	Moderate	High	Low	High, but retro- spective
Sensitizes concepts.	Seldom	Seldom, except in index con- struction and open- ended questions	High	Moderate	High

(Denzin, 1978:30)

A number of writers (Denzin, 1978; Spradley, 1978; Das, 1983; and Smircich, 1983) appear to be in agreement with Bogdan and Biklen (1982) who further indicate that qualitative researchers specifically within the field of education attempt to capture "accurate" interpretations of people's actions and their beliefs and value systems that may be seen to be associated with their actions. To these ends, suggest Bogdan and Biklen (1982:27-30), qualitative research approaches in education have some, but not necessarily all, of the following characteristics:

1. Qualitative research has the natural setting as the direct source of data and the researcher is the key instrument.
2. Qualitative research is descriptive.
3. Qualitative researchers are concerned with process rather than simply with outcomes or products.
4. Qualitative researchers tend to analyze their data inductively.
5. Meaning is of essential concern to the qualitative researcher.

They conclude that people undertake qualitative research in education when the focus is on cultural change within an organization or group. Change, they suggest, is serious because the goal is to improve the life of people.

Change is complicated because beliefs, life styles and behaviour come into conflict. People who try to change education . . . seldom understand how people involved in the changes think. Consequently, they are unable to accurately anticipate how the participants will react. . . . These human aspects of the change process are what qualitative research strategies . . . study best.

Research into Cultures

The qualitative method of enquiry used in this study permitted the researcher to achieve a high degree of intersubjective understanding with those who were key actors during the period of cultural change

investigated. However, as noted by Spradley (1979:5), "culture has been defined in hundreds of different ways." In this context, Freilich (1972:267), in a detailed examination of the concept of culture, suggests that by selecting the one definition, one must necessarily reject others; a better strategy, he suggests, is to assume that all the views are correct. From a detailed examination of various definitions, Freilich (1972) proposed the following model of culture:

- a) culture is learned;
- b) culture derives from the biological, environmental, psychological, and historical components of human experience;
- c) culture is structured;
- d) culture is dynamic;
- e) culture is variable;
- f) culture exhibits regularities that permit its analysis by the methods of science; and
- g) culture is the instrument whereby the individual adjusts to the total setting and gains the means for creative expression.

A similar notion of culture, one that provides a guide to this study's orientation to investigate change in an inner-city high school, is provided by Pettigrew (1979:514). He defines culture as "the system of such publicly and collectively accepted meanings operating for a given group at a given time. This system of terms, forms, categories and images interprets a people's own situation to themselves." Pettigrew's (1979) definition treats the concept of culture as being the source of a family of related concepts that include symbols, language, ideology, belief, ritual and myth. Of these, symbols are identified as the most inclusive category "not only because language, ritual and myth

are forms of symbolism but because symbolic analysis is a frame of reference, a style of analysis in its own right." Culture, he adds, can be viewed as a collection of symbols because, "symbols are objects, acts, relationships, or linguistic formations that stand ambiguously for a multiplicity of meanings, evoke emotions, and impel men to action."

Metz (1984), in a study of faculty subculture within the larger culture of a high school, notes that the concept of culture is not a systematic set of logically interrelated propositions about values, norms and the nature of the empirical world. It is, rather, she suggests,

a broad, diffuse, and potentially contradictory body of shared understandings about what is and what ought to be. There understandings are rarely articulated as abstract propositions. Rather they are common sense, so well known among the persons sharing the culture that sensible adults do not need to mention them. Among initiates cultural knowledge is too self-evident to require discussion. This tacit quality of culture gives it its force (Metz, 1984:1).

To achieve greater understanding of the process of the cultural change that occurred within an inner-city high school, the historical organizational case study (Bodgan and Biklen, 1982) was used to provide the qualitative research design for this study.

The Case Study

Case studies are commonly used in social science research. As noted by Stake (1978:5-7), "It is widely believed that case studies are useful in the study of human affairs because they are down to earth and attention holding." He continues,

Case studies are likely to continue to be popular because of their style and to be useful for exploration for those who search for explanatory laws. And, moreover, because of the universality and importance of experiential understanding, case studies can be expected to continue to have an epistemological advantage over other enquiry methods as a

basis for naturalistic generalization . . . this method has been tried and found to be a direct and satisfying way of adding to experience and improving understanding.

The case study method, as a branch of exploratory, descriptive research, provides a means (Macdonald and Walker, 1975; and Stake, 1978) through which researchers' and practitioners' understanding of social phenomenon may be increased. Stake (1976), for example, notes the need for the researcher to be aware of the paucity of "genuinely causal" general laws which govern the phenomena investigated within the field of educational research. In addition, Wilson (1977:255) indicates that the case study researcher is "constantly making decisions that are strategic to both the direction of a study's progression and to the propositions that are developed and modified throughout the study."

The notion of change over time is indicated in case study methodologies conducted by Pettigrew (1973 and 1979), Pettigrew and Bumstead (1980), Metz (1984), and Bartunek (1984). This study of culture change in an inner-city high school focused upon the changes that occurred over a four year period, 1979 through 1983. In this context, the study used the historical organizational case study research design as proposed by Bogdan and Biklen (1982).

The Historical Organizational Case Study

The general design of a case study, suggest Bogdan and Biklen (1982:59), is best represented by a funnel with the start of the study being the wide end and the study's conclusion providing the narrow end through the synthesizing and focusing of the data collected. These writers note that the historical organizational case study concentrates on a particular organization over time, tracing all or a part of the organization's development. However, they warn that many times

historical organizational case studies are not possible, simply because the sources are insufficient for a minimally accepted piece of work. In this context, the researcher, prior to commencing the study, obtained access to a body of related historical data that included minutes of school meetings, school district and school survey reports, and local and national media material. In addition, the researcher ascertained the availability of persons who were determined to have been key actors during the period under investigation.

Convergent Methodologies within the Study

People in organizations must make interpretations if they are to gain and maintain a sense of organization. Interpretation provides, suggest Weick and Daft (1983:74), a structure to the apparent randomness of people's actions in complex organizations. Interpretation is, they add, the "process of translating events, of developing models for understanding, of bringing out meaning, and of assembling conceptual schemes."

In the context of this study, the researcher sought to gain access to the interpretations of events of those people who had been identified as key actors in the case.

The convergent methodologies used to conduct this study are indicated in the concepts of: (1) symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969; Denzin, 1983); and (2) the interpretation systems model (Weick and Daft, 1983). A description of each methodology follows.

Symbolic Interactionism

The term "symbolic interactionism" has come into use as a label, suggests Blumer (1969), for a relatively distinctive approach to the

study of human group life and human conduct. The origins of the approach may be traced back to John Dewey and George Herbert Mead, among others. Symbolic interactionism is a methodology (Franzosa, 1984:3) that ". . . avoids the implicit absolutism of positivism and the implicit relativism of interpretivism, one that is open to questioning its own categorical distinctions, but not open at both ends."

Blumer (1969:2) indicates that symbolic interactionism rests on three premises:

1. that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them;
2. that meanings of events, actions and the behaviour of others is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows; and
3. that these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by persons in dealing with the things they encounter.

Similarly, Becker, Geer, Highes and Strauss (1961:19) suggest that behaviour is to be understood as a process in which the individual shapes and controls his conduct by taking into account the expectations of others with whom he interacts.

Extending this notion, Smircich (1983:163) indicates that according to symbolic interactionists, people live in social and intellectual worlds of their own making,

highly congruent with the interest of researchers who attempt to study how 'organizations' interact with their environments and the ways in which they appear to follow particular courses of action.

Smircich (1983), like Blumer (1978), considers symbolic interactionism a methodological stance that respects both the concepts of nature of the

empirical world, and the need for understanding of the world to be seen as developing from interpretive translations of events, people and actions.

Denzin (1979:91) defines the term symbolic interactionism as

. . . the peculiar and distinctive character of interaction as it takes place between human beings. The peculiarity consists in the fact that human beings interpret or "define" each other's actions. Their "response" is not made directly to the actions of one another, but instead is based on the meaning which they attach to such actions. Thus human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols, by interpretations, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions. This mediation is equivalent to inserting a process of interpretation between stimulus and response in the case of human behaviour.

He adds that the concept of symbolic interactionism rests on three basic assumptions: (1) that social reality as it is sensed, known and understood is a product of social interaction whereby individuals produce their own definitions of situations; (2) that humans are capable of minded, self-reflexive behaviour that shapes and guides their own behaviour and that of others; and, (3) that in the process of taking their own standpoint and adapting it to the behaviour of others, humans interact with one another. In addition, the symbolic interaction methodology is symbolic because it involves the manipulation of symbols, language, and meanings, and interactional because it recognizes the significance that interpretations have to the development of shared meanings and subsequent behaviour.

Commenting on the role of the researcher, Denzin (1983:145) suggests that the interpretive researcher

. . . attempts to bring the life world alive in full vivid detail. The networks of social relationships, assemblies that connect interactants into webs of meaningful experience and actualized structural practices, must be captured. The microrelations of power and knowledge that dominate and structure these practices also require presentation. Lacking

these dimensions of thick description, the investigators report assumes . . . "a static, lifeless character." It becomes just another structural account of everyday social life, lacking in meaning, substance, and fabric of real people living out real lives in their everyday life worlds.

The second of the two convergent methodologies used in this study is presented by Weick and Daft (1983:73) as an interpretation systems model (ISM). This model is, they suggest, "an additional conceptualization of organizational effectiveness, an additional set of variables, an additional set of measurement criteria." The methodology associated with the ISM is present below.

The Interpretation Systems Approach

Interpretations, according to Weick and Daft, (1983:76), contain the following elements: they inform and modify, utilize special knowledge, permit the expression of sympathy or imagination, act like translations of one language to another, are made posteriori, are quasi historical, construct environments rather than discover them, and act as a form of punctuation consisting of "discrete labels that are superimposed on the continuous flow of people and experiences." To do an interpretation, they add, involves the "researcher's interpretation of interpretations rather than in his interpretation of events."

Weick and Daft (1983:87) further suggest that since interpretation is a "process through which information is given meaning and actions are chosen, the ISM may be used to objectively assess the correspondence between an organization's members' interpretations of their environment and the reality of their external environment." At an operational level, they add,

a researcher might compare environment to interpretation, or measure internal information with regard to selectivity, exaggeration, omission, or condensation. These comparisons

may reflect the ability of the interpretation to respond to external realities.

In conjunction with the objective dimension of the ISM, a subjective dimension is noted by Weick and Daft (1983:89). For the researcher, recognition of this subjective dimension admits the notion that the organization "enacts what it chooses to enact; it defines its environment based on what it wants to achieve." The methodology associated with both the objective and subjective dimensions of the ISM is oriented, they suggest, toward providing a way to categorize, describe and understand various forms of interpretations. To use the methodology associated with the ISM, investigators are advised to be aware of the complexity of their task, and be prepared to use a combination of both objective and subjective research strategies. In addition, they

must be prepared to wade into organizations and attempt to understand at a deeper level how interpretations work. . . . We may not be able to measure interpretation in any clear and subjective way. It is an individualized process, incorporating such things as human consciousness and understanding, and these variables are not readily measurable.

Acknowledging the complexity of the task, Weick and Daft (1983) propose that interpretation systems need to be understood more fully. They contend that through the use of interpretative research methodologies, researchers may be better able to clarify how people deal with the dilemmas and complexities of maintaining affiliations within organizations.

Commenting on the strengths of interpretive methodologies in the field of educational administration, Willower (1980:11) indicates that the obvious strengths of these methodologies "lie in the production of new concepts, ideas, and hypotheses and in the immediate and holistic

nature of the information presented." However, although a number of researchers have been noted to have used interpretive methodologies to study the cultures of a variety of organizations, there are no indications that the convergent methodologies adopted for this study, the ISM and symbolic interactionism, have been used to investigate how people in a complex organization, such as an inner-city high school, attain and maintain a sense of organization, a more effective school.

Research Strategies Appropriate for the Study

Three factors guided the researcher's choice of the research strategies that were used in this study: (1) the historical nature of the research problem, (2) the researcher's intent to triangulate the strategies, and (3) the researcher's past association (1968 through 1985) with the inner-city school both as a teacher and as head of two departments within the school. The research strategies chosen and used were those of "elite interviewing" (Dexter, 1979), and the "unobtrusive measures" (Denzin, 1978) of historical document searches, survey instrument analysis, and observation of changes to the school's physical facilities.

The Interview

The interview is considered to be one of ~~the~~ major research strategies employed by social scientists. Denzin (1978:113) notes that in the "ultimate analysis," the source of theory in the social sciences rests upon the interview, "for it remains . . . the basic source of sociological data." However, he adds, the interview may be complemented by other methods.

A number of writers have provided observations on the use of the

interview as a research strategy. Maccoby and Maccoby (1954:449), for example, note that an interview is a purposeful conversation, usually between two people, that is directed by one in order to get information. In the hands of the qualitative researcher, they add, the interview takes on a shape of its own. More recently, Bogdan and Biklen (1982:135) indicate that the interview is usually used to gather descriptive data in a subject's own words so that the researcher can develop insights on how subjects interpret some piece of their world. However, they note that the research strategy of interviewing may be used in two ways. Interviews may be the sole strategy used to collect data or they may be employed in conjunction with other data collection strategies.

In this study the strategies selected for the collection of data were "elite interviewing" (Dexter, 1979) and the use of a number of "unobtrusive measures" (Denzin, 1978). A description of each of these two research strategies follows.

The Elite Interview

In this study the elite interviewing treatment of informants (Dexter, 1970) was employed. This treatment is described by its author as being non-standardized and unstructured. In particular, elite interviewing is noted to be a technique in which the interviewer exhibits an eagerness and a willingness to allow the informant to teach the researcher about the problem, the situation, and the related questions that might be responded to. He adds that the elite interviewing technique tends to be adopted by researchers more frequently when they are seeking information from people identified as being well-informed, prominent and influential. The rationale provided

by Dexter (1979:6) for the use of this technique is that

for one thing, a good many well-informed or influential people are unwilling to accept the assumptions with which the investigator starts; they insist on explaining to him how they see the situation, what the real problems are as they see the matter. Moreover, the interviewer confronted with genuinely prominent people or the prestigious well-informed is unlikely to insist on their knowing the standardized line of discussion.

Describing the selection of informants, Dexter (1970:8) notes "the informant is regarded to some . . . extent as a subprofessional colleague or co-worker of the research investigator." However, he notes that researchers who use the elite interview technique should be aware of the potential value of information that might be obtained from persons identified as "key" informants. As part of this study, the researcher used the reputational approach as identified by West (1982) as a guide to the selection of informants.

The use of the reputational approach involved asking a small group of persons who were known by the researcher to be knowledgeable with the situations and events that were to be researched to name other persons whom they considered to be like themselves--key informants. From the names submitted, those that appeared most regularly were chosen to be the additional key informants. By the conclusion of this phase of the data collection, a total of fourteen persons had been interviewed including the school's principal, assistant principals, department heads, teachers, and members of the school's alumni and community association.

Despite his description of the elite interview as "unstructured," Dexter suggests that the interviewer work from a "loosely structured" interview guide rather than a rigid list of questions. Following this advice, the researcher allowed informants to talk at will and then asked

them probing questions toward the end of the interview. The interview guides used by the researcher are contained in Appendix I. In addition, the researcher attempted to maintain, throughout each interview, the "non-standardized treatment" suggested by Dexter (1970:5)--that

1. the interviewee's definition of the situation is stressed;
2. the interviewee is encouraged to structure the account of the situation; and
3. the interviewee introduces, to a considerable extent, his/her notions of what s/he regards as relevant instead of relying upon the interviewer's notions of relevance.

In a further clarification of the elite interview strategy, Dexter (1970:13) indicates that this strategy should be used when the following conditions are met:

- (a) alternative techniques have been seriously considered in terms of the research issue, (b) the research issues have tended to determine the selection of techniques, rather than the reverse, and (c) inferences drawn from the interview can be subjected to sort of independent criticism, or preferably, vigorous test.

In reference to inferences that may be drawn from the interview, Dexter indicates that where it becomes obvious that the interviewer knows a good deal more about the topic than the person being interviewed, appropriate discounts of informant statements may be made through reference to other sorts of data including "common sense," common knowledge, and possibly historical recorded data. He further notes that the interviewer must have the capacity to "listen with the third ear" and exhibit the ability and knowledge to catch the interviewee's meanings and to perceive the framework within which the communication is situated.

Three further cautions to the elite interviewer are noted by Dexter (1970). The researcher should ensure that

1. the goodwill of important people is not strained by excessive

demands on their time or patience;

2. confidentiality is maintained of all conversations. To this end the recommendation is made that the names of informants and the study's location should be disguised; and, further, that care should be taken to maintain strict confidentiality if secretarial assistance is used in transcribing the interview data;

3. the study does not rely solely upon data obtained from interviews unless the researcher has enough relevant background to be sure that sense can be made out of the interview conversations; and that (Dexter, 1970:17)

any planning for a study assuming a heavy reliance upon interviews should have a contingency plan . . . so that if the elite interviews prove basically uninformative some other techniques can be substituted.

In the context of this final caution, and in accord with the researcher's intent to use triangulated data collection strategies, unobtrusive measures (Denzin, 1978) were used as a convergent strategy in this study.

Unobtrusive Measures

An unobtrusive measure of observation is (Denzin, 1978:256) any method of observation that "directly removes the researcher from the set of direct interaction or interviews which commonly form the basis of case studies." The unobtrusive measures used in this study were observations of changes to the school's physical facilities over time, the collection, analysis and interpretation of historical documents including minutes of meetings, published survey data, media reports and yearbooks. The measures selected were considered to be representative of those outlined by Denzin (1978) as shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2
Unobtrusive Measures

Category	Sub-Categories
1. Physical Trace Elements	(a) Erosion Measures (b) Accretion Measures (c) Experimental Intervention
2. Analysis of Archival Records	(a) Actuarial Records (b) Political and Judicial Records (c) Mass Media Data (d) Yearbooks (e) Surveys
3. Single Observations	(a) Exterior Physical Signs (b) Expressive Movements (c) Physical Locations (d) Observation of Language (e) Time-Sampling Analysis

(Adapted from Denzin, 1978:256-288)

Webb et al. (1966:1), cited by Denzin (1978), indicate that research interviews should be complemented through the use of other methods for the collection of data.

Today the dominant mass of social science research is based upon interviews and questionnaires. We lament this over-dependence upon a single, fallible method. Interviews . . . intrude as a foreign element into the social setting they would describe, they create as well as measure attitudes . . . and the responses obtained are produced, in part, by dimensions of individual differences irrelevant to the topic at hand. But the principal objection is that they are used alone.

In this context, the chief utility of unobtrusive measures is realized (Denzin, 1978:257) when they are "combined with methods of interview and observation that probe the subjective dimensions of people's interactions." It is, similarly, he adds, through the use of convergent

research strategies that the researcher is better able to discover changes in culture over time.

The researcher's use of triangulated data collection strategies is in accord with Denzin (1978) and Spradley (1978), who both indicate that unobtrusive measures on their own are insufficient research approaches. Rather, like Denzin (1978:287),

I am necessarily led to believe that a complete methodology of the social sciences is one that combines behaviouristic and symbolic elements of human conduct. Accordingly, unobtrusive methods of observation, like all strategies, realize their fullest potential when they are combined with methods that probe the subjective side of human conduct.

Data Collection, Analysis and Reporting

The relevance and meaning of events to individuals are not observable phenomena, notes Das (1983:84), and the researcher, seeking to reveal them, must adopt a variety of techniques that may be collectively grouped under the term qualitative. In this context, Das (1983), Owens (1982), and Turner (1981) indicate that the written interpreted description of social situations researched requires the researcher to develop the particular skill of making the situations "real" to potential readers, and, similarly, that participants in each study should be able to accept the interpretations as reasonable accounts of the situations researched. To facilitate the attainment of both of these states, the researcher is recommended to cultivate the ability to use "disciplined subjectivity" in the research setting, the analysis, and the reporting stages of the study.

Collection of Data

The use of disciplined subjectivity by the researcher involved the use of convergent-methods of data collection. These methods included

the use of both elite interviews (Dexter, 1970) and the use of some of the previously noted unobtrusive measures. The researcher's interpretations of data obtained from those interviewed in combination with the data obtained by the use of the unobtrusive measures provided a picture of the cultural change that occurred in the inner-city high school during the period 1979 through 1983.

Permission was obtained from the school system and the school's principal for the researcher to conduct this study. A preliminary discussion with the principal and others provided a list of persons who were later categorized as key informants. To collect information during the elite interviews the researcher used both tape recorder and note taking strategies during all except one interview. The tape recorder was not used when one interviewee indicated a preference that it not be used. In this context, Dexter (1970:60) disputes the belief that the tape recorder necessarily makes the data collected more authentic or objective. Rather, Dexter (1970:57) suggests that the researcher may be able to exert some control over the interview by the use of note taking rather than relying solely on tape recorded information.

In addition to the data obtained through the elite interviews, additional data were assembled through the use of unobtrusive measures. The assembling of these latter data provided the researcher the opportunity to triangulate the interview data with the data obtained through the use of the unobtrusive measures that included the collection of data concerning changes in the school's physical condition and rates of vandalism, the collection of yearbooks, survey, media, and district data relating to staff and students at the school.

Analysis of Data

Analysis and interpretation of data began as the first data were collected. The process of analysis and interpretation, which is ongoing in qualitative research, involved the researcher in systematically searching and arranging the interview transcripts and other accumulated data. The process included working with the data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, categorizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what was important, what was to be learned, and deciding what to relate to others during successive interviews.

The major analysis of the data was conducted when all of the data was collected. Data analysis continued for a period of four months following a four month data collection period. The additional time provided a period of reflection and distance from the data collection situation. This period of reflection facilitated a more objective treatment of the data and permitted the use of further "confirmability" and "trustworthiness" strategies. However, as noted by Glaser and Strauss (1978:45), the researcher found that in the inductive method of research the analysis cannot be separated from the process and time of data collection because of the emergent nature of theory, which necessarily is grounded in the data.

Researchers employing qualitative techniques (Denzin, 1970, 1978; Glaser, 1978; Guba, 1978, 1981; Guba and Lincoln, 1982; Bogdan and Biklen, 1982; Miles and Huberman, 1984; Owens, 1982; and Le Compte and Goetz, 1982) have addressed the problem of trustworthiness by recommending procedures to be followed during the collection and analysis of research data. Bogdan and Biklen (1982:146-154), for example, suggest the researcher be guided by the following strategies

before and during the data analysis procedures:

1. Make decisions that narrow the study.
2. Make decisions concerning the type of study you want to accomplish (the historical organizational case study is used in this investigation).
3. Develop analytic questions either before or during entry to the research field.
4. Plan data collection sessions in light of what is found in previous data collection sessions.
5. Keep a detailed account of researcher interpretation-- "observer comments."
6. Try out ideas and themes on subjects.
7. Continue to explore related literature while in the field.
8. Play with metaphors, analogies, and concepts.
9. Do not be afraid to speculate.
10. Develop coding categories.
11. Set content code for each coding category.

During the analysis of data stage of this study, the researcher was guided by the procedures outlined by Turner (1981), shown in Table 3.3, and the related suggestions provided by Glaser and Strauss (1967), Owens (1981), and Bogdan and Biklen (1982). The data collected from all sources were coded and preliminary analysis of each data set commenced. For interview data, first, each interview was numbered. Then each concept in each interview was coded and its content recorded, with the interview number on a card. Categories emerged from the coding, and a new category was established whenever an interviewee's comment did not appear to fit under an existing category. Following the data collection

Table 3.3

Schematic List of the Stages in the
Development of Grounded Theory

Main Activity	Comment
Develop Categories	Use the data available to develop labelled categories which fit the data closely.
Saturate Categories	Accumulate examples of a given category until it is clear what future instances would be located in this category.
Abstract Definitions	Abstract a definition of the category by stating in a general form the criteria for putting further instances into this category.
Use the Definitions	Use the definitions as a guide to emerging features of importance in further fieldwork, and as a stimulus to theoretical reflection.
Exploit Categories Fully	Be aware of additional categories suggested by those you have produced, their inverse, their opposite, more specific and more general instances.
Note, Develop and Follow-up Links between Categories	Begin to note relationships and develop hypotheses about the links between the categories.
Consider the Conditions under which the Links Hold	Examine any apparent or hypothesised relationship and try to specify the conditions.
Make Connections, where relevant, to Existing Theory	Build bridges to existing work at this stage, rather than at the outset of the research.
Use Extreme Comparisons to the Maximum to Test Emerging Relationships	Identify the key variables and dimensions and see whether the relationship holds at the extremes of these variables.

and analysis phases all comments made by informants were included under at least one category. The categories were then arranged by the researcher so as to provide a sense of order and continuity to the data gathered. Finally, the data within each category were reviewed in an effort to merge related categories.

Data obtained from the use of unobtrusive measures were similarly analyzed, coded, categorized and recorded. Both the interview and the other data were then cross-categorized to provide for triangulation of the interpretations obtained from both sets of data. The procedure used followed the advice of Denzin (1978:250), who suggests that researchers should use historical data obtained from document analysis as points against which data from interviews may be assessed. He continues,

If analysts can obtain meaningful statements of the "subjective" life from an interview that cannot be excelled by a (historical) document, then they have a triangulated piece of data. But if they find the interview is lacking in this regard, then they must turn to a form of personnel document as supplementary data.

The collection, analysis, coding, and categorization of the data from both informants and the use of unobtrusive measures took approximately eight months. The use of theoretical sampling and the constant comparative method associated with the use of qualitative research approach to the interviewing strategy provided the researcher with the indications when theoretical saturation was achieved. The researcher then left the field having found that no new information was being obtained.

The Research Report

The final step in the research process was to convey the findings to readers through the research report. According to Owens (1981:82)

the distinctive characteristics of a qualitative research report are that it is usually written in ordinary language, it is plausible, carefully documented, and provides corroboration from multiple sources, it is well organized and follows a clear plan of exposition, and is able to "take the reader there" by providing a "rich sense of 'understanding' of events and of having 'insight' as to their meaning or, more likely, meanings."

The writer of this report sought to provide the reader with a clearer understanding of (1) the reasons for the study; (2) the manner in which the study was conducted; (3) the procedures followed to generate the findings; and (4) the way in which trustworthiness was maintained throughout the research process.

Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research

This study of cultural change in an inner-city high school attempted to relate to its audience an account of how a group of people in an inner-city high school were able to attain a more effective school. The study was conducted using a qualitative research design. A number of writers, including Guba (1984), Barritt et al. (1983), Le Compte and Goetz (1982), and Owens (1982), have addressed the question of trustworthiness in qualitative research studies.

A concern addressed in the literature is that a researcher may bring an overly subjective approach to an investigation. In the context of this study the researcher was a staff member of the high school for approximately seventeen years, and participated in and observed the changes that occurred in the school's culture throughout the period investigated. (The researcher left the school in June, 1985.)

A recent study by Bartunek (1984) portrays her long association

with the religious order she investigated. She notes that her interpretations are based in part on her eighteen years experience with the order as both a member and as a consultant. The resultant historical organizational case study she presents appears to meet the basic purpose of qualitative research, that is "to take the reader there" through the presentation of a trustworthy report.

The Notion of Trustworthiness

Guba (1981) related the notion of "trustworthiness" to four major aspects of qualitative research: "truth-value," "applicability," "consistency," and "neutrality." Guba and Lincoln (1982), Cusick (1981), and Owens (1982) note that each of these aspects are described by different terms by adherents to each of the two dominant research orientations, positivist and interpretivist. These terms are indicated in Table 3.4.

The issue of research trustworthiness is further addressed by Guba (1981:3) as indicated in Table 3.5. This table indicates that the potential for researcher bias in any study may be alleviated through the use of audit trail and triangulation strategies.

There is, however, literature that questions the need to be overly concerned with researcher bias. For instance, Cusick (1981:17) notes that for interpretivists "the burden of neutrality" is shifted from investigators and their methods to the confirmability of the data produced." He adds that critics of the qualitative approach to social analysis often attack the role of the researcher as being too subjective. He suggests, however, that this attack is unwarranted because the researcher's role "is as it should be, because that role, which is always unique and personal, and very sensitive, is at the heart

of every such study."

In a similar reference, Le Compte and Goetz (1982:32) suggest that qualitative research provides for multimodal descriptions of naturally occurring events and behaviours "by admitting into the research frame the subjective experiences of both participants and investigator."

The basic purpose of qualitative research is "to take the reader there" suggests Owens (1982:7), and to "provide a report that yields a rich sense of understanding events and of having insight as to their meaning." However, Owens (1982), like Guba (1981 and 1982), and Guba and Lincoln (1982), indicates that it is essential that a clearly visible research strategy is adopted throughout the research.

Throughout this study the researcher was guided by a research strategy (Owens, 1982) that was directed toward the researcher's efforts to achieve confirmable data and research findings. This strategy was composed of a number of components including the following:

1. The maintenance of an audit trail that involved the documentation of the nature of decisions taken in the research plan, and the data on which it was based. Additional audit trail referents included the preservation of raw and edited notes from interviews and observations, records of meetings about the research, all documents used as data sources, guidelines and rules used for data analysis, decision rules by which data were categorized, and interview guidelines.

2. The researcher's employment history in the school facilitated his awareness of the school's culture. (The point is repeatedly made in the literature noted that the greater the researcher's knowledge and awareness of the culture, the "thicker" will be the descriptions and analyses.)

Table 3.4

Positivist and Interpretivist Terms Appropriate
to the Four Aspects of Trustworthiness

Aspect	Positivist Term	Interpretivist Term
Truth Value	Internal Validity	Credibility
Applicability	External Validity	Transferability
Consistency	Reliability	Dependability
Neutrality	Objectivity	Confirmability

(Adapted from Guba, 1981:80)

3. The use of triangulation techniques to provide for the cross-checking of each set of data collected from interviews with data collected from other sources.

4. The use of member checks that permitted the ongoing corroboration of the researcher's data and its analysis by relevant others involved with the school.

5. The use of peer consultations that permitted the researcher's disengagement from the setting. This strategy allowed the researcher to discuss the progress of his work and the nature of the felt and documented experiences with qualified and interested peers and members of his Doctoral Committee.

The role of the qualitative researcher is noted within the literature to be important to both the investigative and interpretive processes involved in qualitative studies. However, Owens (1982:16) notes that concerns relating to credibility, neutrality and confirmability refer to the collection, analysis and interpretation of the research data, and the findings, rather than to the researcher. In

direct reference to the researcher's role in qualitative studies, Owens reaffirms that which has previously been noted; namely, that the research report must be based on trustworthy data collection and analysis procedures, and its findings must be plausible, carefully documented, and provide corroboration from multiple causes. However, suggest Le Compte and Goetz (1982:55), the limitations inherent in all research methods should be recognized. In this context, they note,

Attaining absolute validity and reliability is an impossible goal for any research model. Nevertheless, investigators may approach these objectives by conscientious balancing of the various factors enhancing credibility within the context of their particular research problems and goals. For decades reputable (qualitative researchers) have used a variety of strategies to reduce threats to reliability and validity. This has been a major source for one of the defining characteristics of present day (qualitative research)--its multimodality.

Summary of the Chapter

The methodology and procedures followed throughout this study were presented in this chapter. Commencing with a description of the foundation elements of social science research, the use of triangulation was discussed. These topics were followed by a detailed description of the qualitative research strategies that were used during this study. The chapter was concluded with the presentation and discussion of the procedures used to collect, analyze and interpret the data and to ensure that trustworthiness was maintained throughout the study.

The following chapter contains a description of the background and setting to the study.

Table 3.5
The Naturalistic Treatment of Trustworthiness

Inquiry can be affected by:	Which produce effects of:	To take account of which we:			In the hope these actions will lead to:	And produce findings that are:
		During	After	Credibility		
Factor patterns	Noninterpretability	Use prolonged engagement	Establish structural corroboration (coherence)	Plausible		
	Use persistent observation	Establish referential adequacy				
	Use peer debriefing					
	Do triangulation					
	Collect referential adequacy materials	Do member checks				
Situational uniquenesses	Do member checks			Transferability	Context-relevant	
	Noncomparability	Collect thick descriptive data	Develop thick description			
	Do theoretical/purposive sampling					
Instrumental changes	Instability	Use overlap methods	Do dependability audit (process)	Dependability	Stable	
		Use stepwise replication				
		Leave audit trail				
Investigator predilections	Bias	Do triangulation	Do confirmability audit (product)	Confirmability	Investigator-free	
		Practice reflexivity (audit trail)				

(Guba, 1981:3)

CHAPTER 4

SETTING AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The focus of this case study was on the manner in which members of a large inner-city high school attained a sense of organization, a more effective school, during the period 1979 through 1983. Figure 4.1 illustrates the relationships between the program of studies available at the school, the school's and the School District's administrative organization, and the changing composition of the community within the inner city. This chapter begins with a description of each of the four components of the study and identifies and describes the major themes and dimensions that are used to present the case.

The Program of Studies

From its inception in 1911 to 1953, the school provided inner-city students with a curriculum that was primarily academic and oriented toward students who aspired to attend university. From 1953 to 1964 students whose abilities and interests varied from the academic were accommodated at the school under a dual campus arrangement. In 1965 the school was redesignated a Composite High School. During the period of this study, 1979 through 1983, the school offered in excess of fifty different courses to approximately 1,400 students enrolled in three major program areas: (1) Special Education programs; specifically, Trades and Services, English as a Second Language, and Trainable Mentally Handicapped; (2) Academic programs; and (3) Industrial and Vocational Education programs.

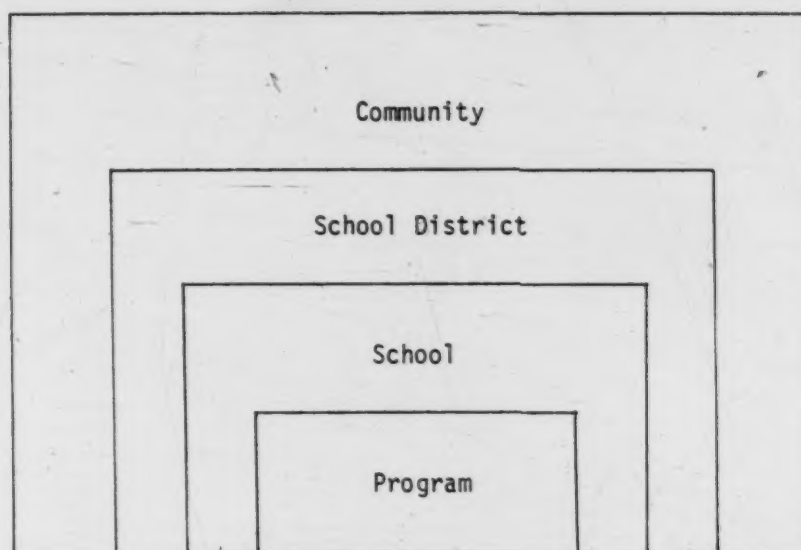


Figure 4.1
The Study Setting

PROGRAM

- Academic
- Vocational
- Special Education
- E.S.L.
- T.M.H.

DISTRICT

- School Board
- Superintendent
- Area Associate Superintendents
- Support Services

SCHOOL

- History
- Principal
- Administration
- Teachers
- Students

COMMUNITY

- Alumni Association
- Parents

The students enrolled in Special Education programs comprised less than 50 percent of the population prior to 1979. By 1983 this figure had grown to 80 percent.

The School's History

Located within the inner-city core of a major mid-western Canadian city, Central Composite High School (C.C.H.S.) has the distinction of having been the city's first high school. Established as a ten-room "red brick schoolhouse" in 1911, the school was repeatedly expanded during the ensuing years to meet the increasing demands by students for a high school education as the city's population increased. The most recent expansion which involved the rebuilding of the school was begun in 1963 and finished in 1965. Two schools that had previously existed on a single campus, Central Academic High School and Central Vocational High School, were united into one facility, creating Central Composite High School.

Central High School has been administered by nine principals since its establishment in 1911. For most of this period the school was oriented primarily toward academic subjects. In 1953 a dual-school arrangement was initiated that provided students with the opportunity to take either an academic or a vocational program on the single campus of Central High School. It now permitted students to integrate subjects from both the academic and vocational program areas.

Figure 4.2 indicates the history of service provided by each of the school's nine principals and the school's program orientation. The first principal of C.C.H.S. notes in the school's 1965 Yearbook that the combining of the two existing schools made Central "one of the largest truly composite high schools in Canada." From an enrolment of 2,400

students in 1965, the data in the school's yearbooks indicate that in 1969 the school reached a record population of 2,700 students and 145 teachers.

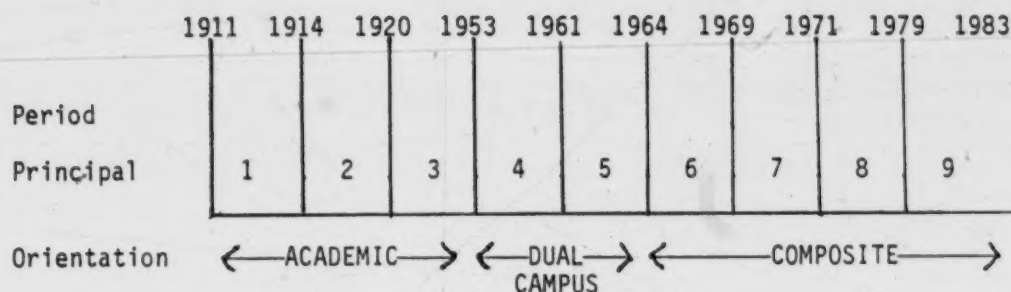


Figure 4.2

Principals and Orientation of Central High School, 1911-83

By the late 1970s, long-service teachers interviewed remembered that a climate of uncertainty and unrest had developed within the school. Several factors identified from the data appear to have contributed to this climate: (1) the uncertain future, viability, and role of Central High School as an inner-city school within the school district; (2) the school district's general pattern of declining enrolment and a changing demographic pattern in which a larger proportion of the student population was being accommodated in the city's expanding suburban areas; (3) the decline in enrolment of Central from 2,700 students in 1969 to 1,500 in 1979; (4) the diversity and number of programs offered at the school; (5) the increasing proportion of special needs students to academic-vocational stream students; and (6) a perceived lack of firm leadership and direction within the school.

The setting for the case study that follows was summarized by a journalist on January 20, 1981:

Central Composite High School is a rather undistinguished-looking outcropping of buildings clinging to the edge of the city's downtown core. The rambling structure merges almost unnoticeably with an abandoned army barracks nearby. It's an inner city school. A school which has at times been somewhat unfairly labelled a "trouble school."

The School District

Central is one of thirteen high schools and 175 primary and junior high schools that at the time of writing comprised the city's public school district. At that time, within the school district seventy thousand students were accommodated in 188 schools and were provided with educational services by four thousand teachers.

In a period of one hundred years, 1881 through 1981, the city's population grew from 350 to more than one-half million. The city's early residents elected their first public school board and opened a one-room school in 1881; established the city as a legal school district in 1884; and built their first high school, Central High School, in 1911.

Since 1884 the district has been administered by eight superintendents of schools. The first was appointed in 1906. The present superintendent has served the district since 1973. Since 1972, the superintendent of the school district has maintained a policy of open boundary attendance at its high schools. Students are free to attend any high school offering a program that they believe to be appropriate to their needs and interests. At a time of falling enrolments and financial restraints, many high school administrators became aware of the need to attract students from outside of their traditional feeder-school boundaries.

The Community

The community surrounding C.C.H.S., the inner city, has been in a state of decline since the mid-1970s. A survey of enrolment trends and populations conducted by the district staff in 1984 indicated that during the period 1970 through 1980 the school-aged population of the city declined by 16 percent, and the total population of the inner city declined by 12 percent. City demographic data for the same period indicates the population declined by almost 15 percent in the immediate area surrounding the school.

Specific data relating to the ethnic origins of the inner city's population are not available; however, persons interviewed repeatedly referred to the increased multi-ethnic composition within the school. The rapid population growth in the Special Education programs, especially English as a Second Language, indicated the changing nature of the school's community--a community that, by the late 1970s, was composed largely of immigrants from a host of third-world countries.

Because of both the transient nature of the surrounding community and the problems associated with multi-ethnic and multi-language groups, efforts to involve significant numbers of community members in school affairs were of limited effect. However, in 1979, the C.C.H.S. Alumni Association was formally registered as a charitable organization, and in 1980 other initiatives, including sports and ethnic festivals, were taken to establish linkages between the school and its community.

Summary of the Chapter

Within a school setting described by the media as "troubled" and by those interviewed as "uncertain," a group of people attempted to change the culture and image of an inner-city high school. The school,

C.C.H.S., has a long history of providing a variety of educational programs to inner-city youth and during its halcyon days was described as "one of the largest truly composite high schools in Canada." However, by 1979, the school was noted to have been at the point of imminent closure by the school district. The declining city population, the decline in the school's population, and the perceived lack of firm leadership had brought the public image of the school to a level unacceptable to the administration of the school district. It was within this setting that the researcher concluded that a research design that involved the use of convergent research strategies was appropriate for this study of cultural change in an inner-city high school.

Commenting on the use of convergent research strategies, Jick (1979:610) suggests that "triangulation demands creativity from the user--ingenuity in collecting data and insightful collection of data." Readers of this report may wish to assess the level of creativity used by the researcher in his use of the research methods and procedures indicated in Chapter 3 in the collection and categorization of the data presented in the following chapter.

The case study presented in Chapter 5 provides a thematic approach to how a group of people at Central Composite High School attained a sense of organization, a more effective school.

CHAPTER 5

THE CASE STUDY

Dimensions and Themes of the Case Study

This case study provides a description of how a group of people in an inner-city high school attained a sense of organization, a more effective school.

Research on effective schools has promoted the optimistic view that principals have key roles to play in the organization for instructional improvement. However, Firestone and Wilson (1985:25) note that "this optimism must be tempered by the knowledge that schools are loosely linked organizations where the impact of principals on instruction is limited." In addition, arguments extended in organizational effectiveness literature (Levine, 1985; Berman and McLaughlin, 1979; and Peters and Waterman, 1982) indicate that a major change within an organization may involve changes within two dimensions of the organization, the cultural dimension and the bureaucratic dimension.

In accordance with a similar conceptual framework suggested by Firestone and Wilson (1985), each segment in each of the two dimensions of meaning are viewed as being able to have acted independently or interactively with other segments of the same or the other dimension. The bureaucratic dimension deals with the meaning of those actions, events or conditions that may be associated with formal control mechanisms within the school such as the rules, regulations, schedules and related accountability mechanisms referred to by Ranson, Hinings, and Greenwood (1980) as the "prescribed framework." The cultural

dimension similarly categorizes the occurrence of actions, events or conditions. This latter dimension, however, deals with how meanings are assigned to the symbols, rituals and myths which relate to the development of a sense of organization and greater effectiveness within the school.

The analysis of the data collected for this study is presented in this chapter. The analysis indicated that it was possible to categorize the information into one of two dimensions, a bureaucratic dimension and a cultural dimension. The categorization of information into one of the two dimensions of meaning reflects the researcher's view of how people interpreted their working environment and the meanings they attributed to the people, symbols, images, and events that changed their sense of organization within the school.

Figure 5.1 provides a summary of the data collected, categorized, and analysed over a four month period during 1985. These data were categorized into one of two contexts: the context identified as Dimensions of Meaning contains the data according to its bureaucratic or cultural association; the second context provides the thematic categorization of the analyzed data. Subsequent to an extended period of reflective analysis, the following five themes emerged from the data:

- Theme 1. The Hostile Halls of Learning. The problems relating to C.C.H.S. evident at the start of the 1979-80 school year were placed in Theme 1.
- Theme 2. Visions for the Future. This theme provides statements of the goals that were established both within the school and within the school district that had direct or indirect impact on the development of a sense of organization among the personnel at C.C.H.S.

Themes		Dimensions of Meaning	
		Bureaucratic	Cultural
<u>The Hostile Halls of Learning</u>	Problems Identified Pre 1979-80	1. The school's future 2. Declining enrolment 3. Lack of appropriate leadership 4. Declining inner city community	1. Poor public image 2. Low staff morale 3. Violent & destructive student behaviour
<u>Visions of the Future</u>	Goals Established 1979-83 (a) School (b) District	1. To ensure the school's future 2. To improve student behaviour 3. To adopt school based budgeting procedures 4. To implement the principles of organization 5. To build a new administrative complex	1. To change the school's climate 2. To establish staff cohesiveness 3. To improve the school's public image
<u>Management of Meaning</u>	Initiatives taken to achieve goals 1979-83 (a) School (b) District	1. Revision of administrative strategies: - Increased supervision - Program development - Selective recruitment - Planning & scheduling - Control of information - Professional development 2. Selection of new principal 3. Implementation of Principles of Organization: - New administrative structure - Decentralized budgeting - Site selection-- administrative complex	1. Creation of symbols: - Strong leadership - Success 2. Staff development 3. Program development 4. Consultation between school and district personnel
<u>Symbols of Success</u>	Goals Attained 1979-83	1. Continuance of school 2. Improved physical environment 3. Increased student achievement	1. Improved school climate 2. Improved public image 3. Improved staff morale
<u>The Search for new Meaning</u>	Problems Remaining Past 1982-83	1. Future of the school	1. Maintenance of staff morale 2. Improved public image

Figure 5.1
Themes and Dimensions of the Study

- Theme 3. Management of Meaning. This theme provides details of the initiatives taken by personnel within the school, the school district, and the community as they attempted to achieve a more cohesive school culture.
- Theme 4. Symbols of Success. Evidence of the goals attained by a group of people within the school were placed in theme 4.
- Theme 5. The Search for New Meaning. This theme contains data that indicates that a "sense of organization, school effectiveness," is a transitory condition.

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to the presentation of the data related to the themes and dimensions of this case study.

Theme 1: The Hostile Halls of Learning

Problems Identified

The image of C.C.H.S. as a tough school permeated throughout the school district and beyond. By the mid-1970s the school was functioning, as implied by a number of respondents, as "a ship without a rudder." The once-proud inner-city high school was now dubbed with the image of one of the nation's problem schools described in a national magazine (Korenblum, 1979:42) as "the hostile halls of learning."

From the mid-1970s, the school had assumed the image of an institution that would accommodate problem students. A senior district administrator, who had served as a teacher and councillor at C.C.H.S. and later as its Area Associate Superintendent, noted,

We became a dumping ground from day one, so anybody, any kid a teacher could not handle . . . ended up at Central. So every teacher knew that the kids we had . . . were the kids they dumped. Every parent knew that was the case.

He and other respondents noted that the traditional academic orientation

of C.C.H.S. started to change with the rebuilding of the school in 1965. In the period of the early 1970s, the inner city neighbourhood's traditional population changed. This resulted in increased student demand for vocational programs, and decreased demand for the traditional academic pattern. The Associate Superintendent added,

I think the two were going at the very same time--it was declining in terms of a neighbourhood high school and increasing in terms of Central being seen as a dumping ground.

Analysis of the data assembled from interviewees and the use of the unobtrusive measures previously noted indicated that people both within and outside the school were aware of the problems associated with C.C.H.S.: (1) the uncertainty relating to the school's future, (2) a declining enrolment pattern, (3) a lack of appropriate leadership, (4) a deteriorating inner-city community, (5) poor public image, (6) low staff morale, and (7) violent and destructive student behaviour. Each of these problem areas is described below.

Bureaucratic Problems Identified

Four of the problems uncovered by the researcher related to the need for significant changes to be made to the school's formal control mechanisms: its rules, regulations, structure and the assurance of the school's future. These four problems, (1) the uncertainty relating to the school's future, (2) a declining enrolment pattern, (3) a lack of appropriate leadership, and (4) a deteriorating inner-city community, were interpreted by those interviewed as belonging to a bureaucratic dimension of meaning, a dimension related to the prescribed framework of the school.

The data related to each of the problems identified as being in the bureaucratic dimension of meaning are presented below.

The school's future. The future of C.C.H.S. had been a topic of rumour and discussion since 1976. At that time the school officially adopted the orientation of a Trades and Services (TS) and adult high school. The principal in 1976 noted in his annual message in the school's yearbook,

We believe the main purpose of the school is to provide opportunities by which students may participate in a learning process. It is not to keep students in school at any cost.

In this context staff members recollected that dropouts and withdrawals from the school reached more than forty percent from among students in the TS program.

The desirability of the school's location and its low enrolment was attracting the attention of a number of growth-oriented post-secondary institutions who sought to purchase the total school or to lease unused space. For example, prior to the 1979-80 school year, neither the principal of C.C.H.S. nor any of the district administrators provided the school staff any indication of the future existence or direction of the school. The first statement in this context appears to have been contained in the retiring principal's message in the 1979 school yearbook:

At present, in 1978-79, we have approximately 1,500 high school and 350 adult day students. Since the demand for adult education programs is increasing, the future of Central Composite may be a part of filling those needs as we hear rumours that the government . . . will be taking over the school for adult upgrading purposes.

A senior district administrator acknowledged that a draft contract for the sale of the school was being discussed. "After all," he suggested, "if you don't have any kids, you aren't going to have any school." However, another district administrator also acknowledged that at that period (prior to 1979) "the sale of the school was not a topic for

discussion."

Declining enrolment. The decline in enrolment from a high of 2,700 in 1969 to less than 1,500 in 1979 was seen to be related to two factors: (a) the negative image of C.C.H.S., and (b) the changing environment of the inner city, and the movement of families to the city's suburbs.

The school was perceived by the mid-1970s as a tough school; a school for low achievers and potential dropouts. Media reports appear to have consistently emphasized the violence and drug-related activities that were occurring in the school. Typical of the media reports was the following description of the school, published in the city's major daily newspaper (May 9, 1980):

(Central Comp.) The place where school spirit (is) bottled.
And if it (isn't) booze it's drugs. (Central Comp.) Where
going to the washroom used to be like entering a combat zone.
(Central Comp.) The toughest school in town.

A parent who had children at the school during the 1979-83 period remembered when his children were being counselled at a neighbouring junior high school:

Counsellors were telling my children not to go to Central
. . . I asked why, and they said there is no discipline . . .
the school was going to be phased out or closed down.

Similarly, a long-serving counsellor at C.C.H.S. noted:

We lost every junior high school principal's confidence. They
were sending over anyone with an A-average or good athletic
background to other high schools.

School leadership. Staff liked the retiring principal. They did not, however, consider him as the leader required for that school. There was an overall feeling that the man who had served C.C.H.S. as principal from 1973 through 1979 was a "good man." Typical of

interviewees' responses to my request to describe the leadership at C.C.H.S. prior to the 1979-80 school year were the following:

C.C.H.S. was like a ship without a rudder.

I felt anything would be better than the administration we had.

They (the administration) couldn't make up their minds . . .

Too loose . . .

The staff were looking for someone to . . . provide leadership and keep the thing (the school) together.

A lack of direction and a lack of structure.

Informal.

A twenty year member of the C.C.H.S. staff described what he felt were the feelings of the majority of C.C.H.S. staff members during the period 1979 through 1983.

We felt he (the principal) was the wrong sort of person to be administering a school that was turning into the kind of school this was.

Commenting on the district administration's role, other district administrators acknowledged

Central's problem included a declining inner city enrolment pattern; a "fill the gap" TS program. People put them in and then walked away from the problem.

(Junior high school principals) used to greet me at the door with a cheer because I would take 25 or 30 of their most difficult cases away from them, and they would clean their hands of them.

The inner city community. The demography of the inner city changed significantly throughout the 1970s. As the city grew both in prosperity and population, inner-city residents of long standing began to move to the city's newly built suburban areas. Their places in the inner city were taken in part by the families of transient workers and immigrants

from third-world countries. City demographic data indicate that between 1973 and 1979 the inner-city population declined by twelve percent.

Cultural Problems Identified

The problems identified as being related to a cultural dimension of meaning were (1) the poor public image of the school, (2) the low level of morale among C.C.H.S. staff, (3) the violent and destructive behaviour of C.C.H.S. students, and (4) the school's lack of appropriate leadership. Each of these problems was interpreted by those interviewed as being a symbol of the ineffectiveness of the school's administration, teachers and students to develop a sense of organization, a more effective school.

Data related to each of the problems identified as belonging to a cultural dimension of meaning are presented below.

The school's public image. The negative public image of Central was a dominant theme among those interviewed. Each interviewee was asked to describe the image of C.C.H.S. in the late 1970s. Specific comments made were as follows:

It had a disastrous reputation.

Since the time of its inception it's been an inner-city school . . . a tough school. What I could not abide was the reputation that it had (achieved), and deservedly so, as a garbage dump.

I would walk down those halls and I wouldn't tolerate what was being tolerated from the kids or from the teachers. . . . Many teachers, either out of frustration or whatever, gave in as well. You would see a kid throw a cigarette on the floor and it's burning into the floor tile, and a teacher walks right by it. Then both of them have a problem.

People that I talk to today (1985) still think that Central is a place where they can't walk down the halls without getting knifed.

We were allowing kids to burn down the school in the name of education.

These comments provided the researcher with perceptions of the morale among C.C.H.S. staff during the late 1970s. The interpretations of these perceptions are presented below.

Teacher morale. Staff morale in the late 1970s was acknowledged to be low by both district and school personnel interviewed. Asked to describe how staff members felt about their school, respondents indicated that most staff felt the school was in a state of chaos, that the administration had lost control of the situation, and that a state of anarchy was in existence. One department head noted that teachers in his department were afraid to leave their classrooms or walk in the halls. Another department head noted "the spirit was apathetic . . . the school needed something, anything."

No formal records of staff transfers for the period prior to 1979 are available; however, yearbook data and interviewees' recollections indicate that the number of staff requesting transfers out of Central was relatively small. Both school and district personnel indicated, however, that this was due more to the number of placements available rather than to the number of staff members who were satisfied with their employment at C.C.H.S. Relating teacher absenteeism to teacher morale, the researcher uncovered data relating to sick-leave taken by staff. The data obtained from district records indicate that an average of 4.75 days were used by each teacher during the 1978-79 school year. By the 1982-83 school year, the average had decreased to 3.6 days for each teacher.

Student behaviour. The violent and destructive behaviour has been

noted previously. The school, however, gained increased local and national notoriety when separate incidents involving a gang-raping of a C.C.H.S. student and the stabbing of a teacher in the school were reported. A local newspaper reporter asked the new principal a few months after his appointment what he had thought about the task when he took on the principalship of C.C.H.S. a few months earlier. Mr. Ball responded, "I looked around in September and knew we had a . . . lot of problems." A parent of a C.C.H.S. graduate remembered that prior to the 1979-80 school year,

the kids ran the school instead of the administration and the teachers. Kids would flip cigarettes at teachers walking through the hallways and teachers would be scared to do anything about it. Kids would be lying in the hallway smoking and carrying on. There was no discipline in any way, shape or form.

Records of the cost of school vandalism within the district's schools during the period 1979 through 1983 are shown in Table 5.1. These data indicate that in the 1979-80 school year, monthly costs to repair acts of vandalism at C.C.H.S. were approximately three hundred percent higher than the average monthly costs for repairing acts of vandalism at other high schools within the district.

The problems that beset C.C.H.S. by September, 1979, have been presented in Theme 1, "The Hostile Halls of Learning." These problems were identified from the data and categorized into one of two dimensions of meaning, the bureaucratic dimension or the cultural dimension.

The problems identified as belonging to the bureaucratic dimension of meaning reflect the concerns expressed by those interviewed, and in media reports, of the school's declining role as an educational institution within the inner city. Interviewees indicated that a lack of leadership and the continued uncertainty about the school's future

were problems that could have been alleviated through the establishment of formal control mechanisms by both district and in-school personnel.

The problems categorized as belonging to the cultural dimension of meaning were identified by interviewees as being related to the symbols, rituals and myths that had developed around C.C.H.S. since its inception as the city's first high school. The problems of low staff morale, violent and destructive student behaviour, and concern about the school's leadership were interpreted by interviewees to have contributed to the poor media image of C.C.H.S.

Theme 2: Visions of the Future

The goals established within the school and in the school district that related to the future of the school were combined in Theme 2: Visions of the Future.

There were no indications in available documents that any formal statement of mission, goals or objectives was ever written by the new principal, Mr. Ball, or by his assistant principals prior to the start of the 1979-80 school year. A district administrator, however, recalled that Mr. Ball had outlined his vision for the future of C.C.H.S. in informal discussions with district administrators. He remembered that Mr. Ball had said that his primary goal would be to rid the school of its negative image, and that to do this he would have to establish pride for the school in the minds of both staff and students. There were, he further recalled, "going to be rules; there was going to be firmness; there was going to be direction given." Mr. Ball confirmed his incoming vision for the future of C.C.H.S.: "The biggest job was first to break down one image, then to get the kids in school. Once you get them back in, then you start working on them."

Table 5.1

Average Monthly Costs to Repair Vandalism at
C.C.H.S. during the 1979-80 School Year

District Locations	Average Monthly Cost per School (\$)
All District Schools	140
All District High Schools	750
Central Composite High School	2,173

(Source: District Director of Security)

At the start of the 1979-80 school year neither Mr. Ball nor any members of his staff believed that the school had long to survive as an inner-city high school. I asked Mr. Ball to describe the mandate that was given to him by the Superintendent or his associates. He responded,

I can't remember anything, really . . . I am convinced . . . they were going to sell this place . . . I think they were in desperate straits at that particular time, and they were hoping for anything. . . . I can remember my last interview with (the Superintendent). He wanted to know, was really concerned, as to how I would change the climate of the school because it was not a desirable climate.

"How did you respond to that?" I asked.

I told him simply that the major challenge of turning the school around is to deal primarily with the staff . . . to convince staff that what you have in mind is going to be a group thing, a real team, and this has to be. You can't do this by yourself. . . . It was my job as the administrator to make sure they had the available resources to do this.

Goals Established

The underlying mission of the administration of C.C.H.S. was to endeavour to ensure the school's survival. Although no formal mission statement to this effect was ever published, the principal acknowledged that all of the goals and objectives that were established during the

1979-83 period indicated the administration's underlying mission was to ensure the school's continuance, its survival as an inner-city high school.

To facilitate the attainment of this unwritten mission, Mr. Ball and others developed a variety of strategies to change the image of C.C.H.S. and to restructure the meaning that the name "Central Composite High School" evoked in the minds of its staff, students and community. In this context, interviews and other data indicate that Mr. Ball at every opportunity would attempt to orient the attention of the school's staff, district personnel, and the media away from the school's current problems, and toward the futuristic image of what Central was becoming. Minutes of administrative, department head, and staff meetings indicated that little time or consideration was spent attempting to analyze or interpret the causes of the school's present problems. Rather, as Mr. Ball indicated, "I set down three years to do the whole job . . . to rid ourselves of that image. . . . It was a little nerve-racking at times, but the end result was much, much better than what you could have hoped for."

Bureaucratic Goals Established

A total of five goals were identified from the data as being primarily concerned with the administrative organization and operation of the educational system within the district. These five goals were labelled as bureaucratic because interviewees indicated that they perceived these goals to refer to the formal statement of rules, regulations, schedules and the related accountability mechanisms that they usually associated with statements regarding how schools are managed.

Three of the five goals identified in this dimension were established by the administration of C.C.H.S.: (1) to ensure the school's continuance, (2) to improve students' behaviour, and (3) to adopt the procedures of school based budgeting. In these contexts, Mr. Ball noted that the first goals he established upon assuming the principalship of C.C.H.S. were directed toward getting "some parameters established in terms of expectations of teachers and students," and to re-establish the structures for effective administration. He added that "there were going to be some rules; there was going to be some firmness; there was going to be direction given."

The remaining two goals, (4) to implement a new administrative structure within the district, and (5) to build a new administrative complex, were established by the district's Superintendent and his senior staff. Although these two goals were directed toward improving the system of education throughout the district, interviewees repeatedly noted that the establishment of these district goals in 1979 had a direct impact on the subsequent events that occurred within Central Composite High School.

Continuance of the school. The researcher was not able to find records that related to the school's continuance or possible closing. However, minutes of staff meetings for the period 1979 through 1983 indicate that questions were frequently asked of the principal about the future of the school. Minutes of the school's administrative meetings indicate that throughout the period 1979-83, Mr. Ball and others lobbied school district administrators and school board members to consider new directions for C.C.H.S. In the minutes of the school's administration meetings the researcher found that specific proposals

were made by Central's administrators to redesign Central so that it might become an all-grade (from kindergarten through grade 12) school, or a magnet school focussing on the fine arts, or, in view of its central location, a demonstration school in which innovative education projects could be designed and piloted.

While no formal responses were ever provided by district officials to any of these proposals, informal discussions that the proposals evoked both within the school and beyond appear to have achieved another purpose, that of creating a sense of future, a sense of continuance among the staff at Central.

Improve student behaviour. A number of traditional rules and regulations were enforced with greater rigor subsequent to the appointment of Mr. Ball. The administration's annual goal statements indicate that a major emphasis was to achieve reductions in the areas of student absenteeism and rates of vandalism.

Interviewees were unanimous in their indications that the policy that had the most significant impact on student behaviour was the decision that smoking by students be banned in the school. This decision was announced by the principal at the first staff meeting on the first day of the 1979-80 school year. Mr. Ball remarked during our first interview that to this day he still could not believe that a non-educational thing, banning smoking, did more for the school than anything else could have done. He noted that, when he announced the policy on that first day,

teachers were firmly convinced that there was no way it was going to work. However, we (the administration) were bound and determined that it was going to work. When teachers and people were in jeopardy with regard to the policy . . . we supported them (by suspending the offenders from school).

Implementation of school based budgeting (S.B.B.). C.C.H.S. was scheduled to implement school based budgeting for the 1980-81 school year, although a number of other schools in the district had implemented the decentralized financial control system earlier. The orientation and planning phases for the implementation began in March, 1980, and attempts were made to involve all members of the school's staff.

Each department was charged with the responsibility of making decisions as to the most equitable and effective distribution of a given allocation of dollars for the following year's programs. The procedure used in the school followed the District Policy Handbook that recommended that schools involve all their staff, as well as community representatives, in the school's budget allocation process.

Reaction to the implementation of S.B.B. was mixed among the staff of C.C.H.S. Some staff indicated that these tasks added to their workload, others indicated that S.B.B. enabled all staff to participate in the establishment of the school's priorities. The principal of C.C.H.S. indicated that he believed that S.B.B. was probably the best thing that ever happened to the school system. He added that the procedure provided him and his staff greater flexibility to "do pretty well what we wanted to do."

Implementation of a new administrative structure. The district implemented an administrative reorganization plan, the Principles of Organization (Appendix II), at the start of the 1979-80 school year. While the decision to implement the reorganization was not viewed as having a direct relationship to the goals established within the school, the plan's implementation was seen by those interviewed as having provided the administration freedom to select priorities when

establishing goals for the school.

The new administration provided for the increased decentralization of decision making responsibility and accountability to individual principals and their staff and community. The key elements in the plan were presented as The Four Exclusives: (1) setting objectives; (2) allocating resources; (3) directing and vetoing actions or decisions; and (4) evaluating performance.

The district's goal was acknowledged by both school and district administrators interviewed to be to make principals more aware that there was a dynamic interaction between the use of authority, the assumption of responsibility, accountability, and communication. In addition, said one associate superintendent, "We adopted that one principle that everybody in the organization should have one boss."

The researcher asked this associate superintendent how successful the district had been in increasing principals' and others' awareness of the Principles of Organization. He replied,

Minimal. . . . Some schools didn't and still don't quite understand what the plan was and why they should plan their own activities, and why they should put these down, and . . . how that would ever tie in with the Central Office. To this day there is still an absence of measurement of education in public schools.

From among those interviewed, only the district administrators and Mr. Ball had any significant degree of awareness of the Principles of Organization. This condition of "non-awareness" was acknowledged by the district administrators interviewed.

New administrative complex. On December 20, 1979, a site selection team was appointed by the district's School Board to make recommendations concerning the most desirable location on which to build

a new administrative complex. Five potential sites were identified including an area that was part of the playing fields of Central Composite High School.

As with opinions on S.B.B., the staff of C.C.H.S. were noted to have been divided in their support of one of a number of alternative proposals that suggested that the new complex be built adjacent to C.C.H.S. Recollections by staff members indicated that the majority believed that the building of the complex adjacent to C.C.H.S. would ensure the continuance of the school. Others were noted to have expressed the concern that if built adjacent to the school, the complex would eventually engulf Central.

The official transcript of the site selection process indicates

On March 3, 1980, the recommendation of the Consultant Team was made to the Trustees' Sub Committee, and on March 12 the selected site was approved by the Board of Trustees. . . . Following a detailed evaluation of the five sites it is the recommendation of the Consultant Team that the Central Composite High School site be selected as the location for the new Administrative Complex.

Groundbreaking for the new Administrative Complex began on the site adjacent to C.C.H.S. in the spring of 1982.

Cultural Goals Established

Cultural goals are directed toward the process of people's consciousness to influence how they think about who they are and what they do within an organization. The cultural goals identified from the data indicated that the challenge to the school's administration was to initiate and encourage strategies that would (1) facilitate members of the school to be able to respond in positive terms to questions relating to their task and role in the school, and (2) foster a sense of loyalty and commitment by staff and students to their school and to its future

growth.

Interviews and document analysis showed that a series of goals were established and directed by the school's administration toward changing the image of the school. Three specific goals were identified as components of the cultural dimension of this study: (1) to change the school's climate; (2) to establish staff cohesiveness; and (3) to improve the school's public image. The establishment of each of these three goals is described below.

School climate change. The S.B.B. Documents prepared by the administration of Central for each of the school years 1980 through 1983 were seen to contain goal statements that relate to the improvement of the school's climate. (Prior to 1980-81, the school was not required to formally state its goals.) Typical of each of these goal statements is the following contained in the 1980-81 school based budget document:

Students will demonstrate more respect for school property as evidenced by fewer acts of vandalism; lower frequency of student discipline problems and improved school spirit. Staff perceptions can measure these variables as well as surveys designed by the school or district.

Every person interviewed addressed the issue of school climate and each indicated that changing the school's climate was a difficult task. Many interviewees, while acknowledging that the climate of the school changed during the period 1979 through 1983, said that they found it very difficult to identify what specific goals were established to provide impetus and direction for the changes that occurred. Mr. Ball, however, stated that to effect a change in the school's climate he had to

start the process with the staff because they are the front line people that deal with the kids. . . . Once you get your staff on line, and once your staff knows that you are going to support them, you are then in the process of doing something (about the school's climate); now, it's a very simple matter

to get to the kids.

Developing staff cohesiveness. The school's need for a leader who could inspire both a sense of school pride and a sense of unity among the staff of Central was a theme common to each interview. Each interviewee noted that the school, at the start of the 1979-80 school year, was in a state of chaos, that the administration had lost control of both staff and students.

Both district and in-school personnel referred to the athletic background of Mr. Ball and the image of strength and confidence that both his physical presence and demeanour generated to others. Mr. Ball repeatedly affirmed that his primary goal on assuming the principalship of Central was to provide leadership and support to his staff. In support of these stated perceptions and positions, the 1980-81 school based budget, the first for C.C.H.S., contains the following goal statement:

To provide for the teaching and support staff a combination of firm leadership and good working conditions so as to foster good morale.

Changing the public image. The desire to change the public image of the school was considered by all interviewees to have been a major goal of the new principal, Mr. Ball, in 1979. Mr. Ball confirmed that changing the public's image toward the school was a goal that related to his basic philosophy of schooling and education. The philosophy he expressed contained three elements:

1. That the principal of a school is responsible for the school becoming an effective and happy place for students to receive their education.

2. That the principal is responsible for ensuring that teachers and other staff are happy in their surroundings.
3. That the principal is responsible for ensuring that parents are satisfied with what their children are doing in school.

He further indicated that he had imposed a deadline on himself to deal both with the school's internal problems and its image to the community. He said,

I gave myself three years to do the job . . . to get people to understand the fact that we realized we had problems, but that we were also looking after them.

In a case study of the management of meaning in an insurance company, Smircich and Morgan (1982:257) speak of the company chairman attempting to create a "perceptual space of tightness and closeness" to which company staff could respond with a sense of urgency, a sense of direction, and a sense of hope for the future. A similar statement appears to be appropriate to describe the nature of the goals established by a group of people at C.C.H.S. in order to create both an image and the reality of a more effective school and, in effect, the school's continuance.

The initiatives taken to achieve these goals are presented in the next section as the third theme of this case study, The Management of Meaning.

Theme 3: The Management of Meaning

According to Smircich and Morgan (1982), any attempt to change an organization's culture is rarely a straightforward process. Each of the initiatives that may be taken to facilitate change may be examined both singly and in combination with other initiatives that may be taken. This detailed analysis is necessary in order to examine both the

potential relationships and outcomes of the implementation of each initiative. The interactivity between initiatives taken to facilitate cultural change in schools is discussed by Firestone and Wilson (1985:23). They suggest that this interactivity "does not just happen, it evolves over time." Consequently, they add, there is a need for researchers to study and employ an historical perspective when investigating cultural change in schools. Such a perspective allows the researcher to follow the development of interactions between initiatives taken and to unravel the relationship between them.

Initiatives Taken to Achieve Goals

The third theme in this case study provided details about the nature and relationships of the initiatives taken to bring about changes to the culture of Central Composite High School. Analysis of the data indicated that these initiatives originated from one of two sources: (1) within the school, and (2) within the school district. Further analysis indicated that each of the identified initiatives could be categorized as belonging to either a bureaucratic or cultural dimension.

The bureaucratic initiatives identified as having originated in the school relate to revisions that were made to the school's internal administrative strategies. The bureaucratic initiatives identified as having originated from within the school district but outside of the school relate to the selection of a new principal for C.C.H.S., the implementation of the Principles of Organization, and the site selection for the new administrative complex.

Four initiatives were categorized as belonging to the cultural dimension. Three of these that were identified as having originated from within the school were (1) the creation of symbols of leadership

and symbols of success, (2) the social development of the school's staff, and (3) the encouragement of staff to engage in program development. The fourth initiative identified from the data as belonging in the cultural dimension originated from within the central administration of the school district and involved a number of informal consultations between the school's principal and district personnel involved in the site selection of the school district's new administrative complex.

The remainder of this section presents a more detailed description of these initiatives.

Bureaucratic Initiatives

Initiatives categorized as belonging to the bureaucratic dimension of meaning were identified from the data as being related to the changes that occurred to the formal control mechanisms within the school such as the rules, regulations, schedules, and related accountability mechanisms. The assignment of the identified initiatives to this dimension was based on how those persons interviewed interpreted both the original initiative and subsequently the related cultural change that occurred in the school.

Revised administrative strategies. During the interview, Mr. Ball indicated that one of his first tasks as principal of C.C.H.S. was to "put a completely new organizational pattern into effect." The organizational changes involved (a) using teachers for supervision duties, (b) developing new programs, (c) selectively recruiting staff, (d) changing administrators' areas of responsibility for planning and scheduling, (e) controlling information, and (f) introducing professional development activities for staff.

Increased use of teachers for supervision was an early change. During our interviews the school's principal, Mr. Ball, made repeated references to how he attempted to "turn the school around," to change its climate and its public image. One of his first initiatives at the start of the 1979-80 period was to implement a schedule of hallway supervision duties for both administrators and teachers. On the first day of the 1979-80 school year, teachers at the school found a copy of the schedule in their school opening package. The schedule indicated that a pair of teachers would supervise a designated area of the school for a total of approximately forty days during the school year. The school's assistant principals were similarly assigned general supervisory responsibilities, each of the three sharing responsibilities on a daily basis. In addition to the scheduled supervision duties, Mr. Ball was observed to wander through the hallways and into the classrooms throughout the school day.

The implementation of a formal schedule of hallway supervision was indicated by those interviewed to be directly related to the enforcement of the non-smoking policy similarly adopted at the start of the 1979-80 school year. Each interviewee indicated that the implementation of the non-smoking policy "gave the kids a message." It was similarly evident from the data that the enforcement of the supervision schedule communicated to the school's staff that the new principal was determined to ensure that both students and staff were aware that there were going to be rules and that the rules were going to be enforced.

At the beginning of each of the school years during the period of the study, teachers and administrators were assigned formal supervisory duties. However, teachers engaged in coaching and other co-curricular

activities during the noon hour could apply to the principal to be relieved of scheduled supervisory duties. Interviewees similarly indicated that the teachers' acceptance of the added supervision responsibilities was encouraged by their knowledge that the administration supported teachers' supervisory duties through their participation in hallway patrols and through suspending, or when necessary, expelling students found smoking or otherwise engaged in inappropriate activities in the school building and its facilities.

Program development was the second initiative identified as an administrative strategy. The program of studies offered at C.C.H.S. during the period of this study was composed of three distinct program routes: (1) the academic route, (2) the vocational route, and (3) the special education route. The latter included programs in areas designated as Trades and Services, English as a Second Language, and Trainable Mentally Handicapped. Prior to 1979, Special Education courses comprised less than 50 percent of the school's program. Over 80 percent of the school's student population was enrolled in Special Education courses by 1983. The remaining twenty percent of the students was comprised of approximately fifteen percent in the academic route and five percent in the vocational education program.

Commenting on the emphasis he placed on facilitating innovative educational approaches for students. Mr. Ball said that he believed that the major need of students at C.C.H.S. was to engage in activities that would encourage the development of a positive sense of identity. He noted,

My colleagues (other principals) look at me as providing events like the circuses of Rome. . . . However, you give them (the students) what they want and need. . . . But these are the kinds of things that go back to my basic philosophy of a

school. If a school is a nice place to be and kids like it here . . . that's the idea I have of a school. Trying to provide something for young people--that makes sense to me.

Two major areas of program development were identified in the data, (1) curricular enrichment, and (2) co-curricular activity enrichments. Both forms of program development were carried out within the guidelines of existing government and school district policy. However, interviewees indicated that they saw a difference between the two forms of enrichment activities. Program developments that occurred within the context of existing courses tended to be viewed as being acceptable to all interviewees. These developments were categorized as initiatives that generated a feeling of bureaucratic acceptability among interviewees. The second major area of program development, co-curricular activity enrichments, tended to evoke different responses from interviewees. The initiatives taken in the second area of program development were categorized as belonging to the cultural dimension and are presented later in this section.

Program development within the school's curricular areas was identified by department heads as consisting of local, national, and international field trips, a co-operative off-campus work experience program, the development of alternative curriculum within the physical education and other programs, and the encouragement of staff members to engage in professional development activities related to their areas of instruction.

During the period 1979 through 1983 teachers at the school were encouraged to take their students on out-of-school trips. The department head of Physical Education commented on this administrative encouragement.

If you had an idea . . . the administration would listen to it . . . would say, OK run with it, see what happens. This is the reason that people were and still are ready to go and do these types of things. I know in our Phys. Ed. 30 class, my goodness, we offer trips that are outstanding educational experiences for these kids. I would say our program is as good or better than probably any other Phys. Ed. class going. And why? Because we get the rein to do that. The administration has said go to it, give it a try and see. I think that's initiative that's not being squelched.

I think the educational value that you get out of a trip is really hard to get in a school. They just learn about life and things that often you can't learn unless you experience them.

I think that within the school there were some programs and innovative things because people were given the confidence or they had the confidence in the administration that they could try and do things . . .

An alumnus of the school suggested that even subtle changes such as providing staff with direct access to a photocopying machine rather than the spirit duplicator used prior to the 1979-80 school year provided a new image, an image of support and encouragement to both staff and students. Commenting on the experiences of his children who were students at the school during the period of the study, he said,

I think that things that were being done were done to a better standard. The quality of the things the school was doing improved, and as subtle as that is, I think it had a tremendous effect.

Administrators and other teachers at C.C.H.S. addressed the subject of curricular program development. The department head of Business Education noted,

The nature of the clientele (students) that evolved . . . has obviously forced us to make adjustments to our curriculum. You sort of want to put curriculum first in terms of the mandate that (the Government) gives you . . . but realistically speaking, we had to make adjustments by the nature of the school.

Our objectives were the same in all of our programs, that is to try and see that more kids are successful, and that we achieve this through forming a partnership with our community

. . . to inform our community as to what kinds of things are occurring (in the school) and that we would welcome their input.

Our program development is an ongoing thing. For instance, we have taken the bull by the horns in English 33, and our English marks are not the best in the world; in fact, our marks are beneath the Provincial average for the simple reason that most of our kids started off not speaking the language or they come from another school into the Special Education program as complete failures. These kids are frequently written off in Grade 9. We have concentrated on decreasing the number of failures of our English 33 students, we are interested in reducing the number of students who achieve less than 40% in these and other courses.

Some of the staff members at C.C.H.S. interviewed indicated that they felt too many resources were being directed toward program enrichments and that insufficient attention and resources were made available to the academic core program. Responding to a question in this context, Mr. Ball said,

I have been accused of not doing too much for the academic end of our programs. Maybe that's true. However, I feel that our situation was such that our biggest population is Special Education rather than Academic, so I would be a complete fool to spend all of my efforts, time and money on less than fifteen percent of our school who are academic-related kids. . . . I would like to have seen our Special Education population decrease, if not disappear. However, it was the Special Education students that kept us floating (the school's continuance).

The data obtained for the period 1979 through 1983 indicated the following curricular program developments:

- (a) Three new courses were developed within the physical education department: dance, outdoor education, and a basketball skill development course.
- (b) Course content and evaluation strategies were revised in all Special Education courses. In this context teachers were encouraged to enrich course contents with field experiences and to evaluate each student in terms of their changed individual

performance rather than through standardized tests.

- (c) The administration provided encouragement and financial support for extended field trips to be taken to other provinces and various locations in the United States and Europe.

Evidence of the program enrichment activities engaged in by both teachers and students is shown in Table 5.2. These data, obtained from school district records, show that teachers used an increasing number of school days in which to (1) further their knowledge of their teaching areas through professional development activities, and (2) enrich the experiences of students through out-of-school learning activities. With the exception of the 1982-83 school year, a year acknowledged to be characterized by budget restraints, each of the school years shown in Table 5.2 indicates that teacher-initiated field trips and professional development activities increased significantly.

Selective recruitment of teachers accompanied the other administrative strategies. The period 1979 through 1983 was a time of recession and restraint within both the school district and the provincial economy. Therefore, fewer new teachers were being employed by the district, and, because of existing policies regarding staff tenure based in part on length of service in a school, few staff members within the district were requesting transfers.

The Area Associate Superintendent, whose responsibilities included C.C.H.S. during the period September 1979 to December 1980, addressed the question of selective recruitment at the school as follows:

Area Associate: Tom is a facilitator. He gives people their wings at a variety of things, but he needs the right complement of people.

Table 5.2
Professional Development and Field Trip Days
used by Teachers

	SCHOOL YEAR				
	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83
NO. OF TEACHERS	80	78	87	86	83
PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT DAYS	123	113	141	178	144
FIELD TRIP DAYS	0	25	61	56	39
TOTAL	123	138	202	234	183
AVERAGE DAYS PER TEACHER	1.54	1.77	2.32	2.72	2.21

(Source: School and school district records)

Interviewer: Would you say that Tom was able to pick his team?

Area Associate: I think a couple of things . . . I know that if you start off with "X" number of teachers, and your enrolment is declining, then, in most cases, you are simply cutting staff or not adding that many. I don't know how many people he actually was able to pick. Also, the administrative team is very key as well.

Interviewer: I believe he inherited the previous principal's team of administrators.

Area Associate: It was the only one he had.

Other interviewees from within the school indicated that the selection of new staff members was primarily based on their ability to promote physical education related activities.

Tom Ball's background, of course, being in physical education, when he hired teachers they were often hired with some eye on what type of sport they could coach, and that usually meant it might have been a younger teacher who is not tied up or committed to a large family, and, therefore, has a little more time to spend evenings and afternoons coaching.

Table 5.3
Number of Teaching Staff at C.C.H.S.

	SCHOOL YEAR				
	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83
No. of Teachers	80	78	87	86	83
Student Enrolment	1,500	1,545	1,570	1,415	1,351
Student-Teacher Ratio	19:1	20:1	18:1	17:1	16:1

(Source: School and school district records)

There was a fantastic increase in the concern about physical education from his (Mr. Ball) background. I would expect . . . this affected the teachers that were accepted in the school.

In response to the question, "How much freedom did you have to select your own team of administrators and teachers?", Mr. Ball responded, "Absolutely none. Not one choice did I have. Our system is not prone to giving choices."

Table 5.3 shows the number of teaching staff employed at C.C.H.S. during the period 1978 through 1983. These data show that staff increases occurred in only one of these school years. In the school year 1980-81, nine new teachers were employed at C.C.H.S. In each of the other years indicated the number of staff employed at the school decreased. However, these data also indicate that, with the exception of the 1979-80 school year, student-staff ratios decreased yearly. These data are in keeping with the district's policy to attempt to maintain a 15:1 student-teacher ratio in most Special Education programs.

Contrary to the perceptions of those interviewees who indicated

that new teachers were selected on the basis of their ability to participate in physical education activities, the minutes of the 1980-81 school opening staff meeting identify the new teaching staff. To the best recollection of other staff members, not one of the nine new staff members participated in either curricular or co-curricular physical education activities.

Planning and scheduling became an important administrative strategy. Each of the people interviewed for this study indicated that the school had changed from being like a "ship without a rudder" to a school which had a visible and operational organizational structure. Some respondents noted their distaste for the administrative style brought to the school by Mr. Ball. However, only one interviewee failed to acknowledge that there had been positive changes in the school's climate, image, and students' achievements during the period of the study.

I asked Mr. Ball what organizational changes he made to facilitate the operations of the school. He replied,

I put into effect a completely new organization pattern. . . . I actually established three different schools with an assistant principal responsible for a specific group of students throughout their time at this school. . . . I modelled this organization very similar to the way in which the Superintendent has organized his Area Associate Superintendents' responsibilities. There is no possible way that I can control the entire situation of this school. I have to rely on my assistant principals and department heads.

The organization pattern referred to by Mr. Ball was modelled on the organization structure recommended in the Principles of Organization (Appendix II). The details of the Principles of Organization are presented in the section of this chapter entitled, "Implementation of the Principles of Organization."

The organizational structure adopted by Mr. Ball is shown in Figure 5.2. The figure indicates that the principal decentralized specific areas of responsibility to his assistant principals and department heads but retained the overall responsibility for the outcomes of all programs and services provided at the school. Each of the persons to whom specific areas of authority were delegated was responsible for maintaining supervisor-subordinate relationships in (1) setting objectives, (2) allocating resources, (3) directing and vetoing actions or decisions, and (4) evaluating performance. Similarly, supervisor-subordinate relationships were subject to a "span of control" that had its foundation in the following measurable variables:

1. The quality of performance of the supervisors.
2. The quality of performance of the subordinates.
3. The number and diversity of different functions performed by subordinates.
4. The measurability of results expected from subordinates.
5. Other responsibilities (or distractions) of the supervisor.

(Principles of Organization (Revised):1983)

Within this organizational framework administrators and department heads were required to submit to the principal annually a document outlining their respective roles and responsibilities, the goals and objectives for their areas, and how the attainment of the goals and objectives would be monitored and measured.

Within the school's organizational structure, planning and scheduling activities were performed at three levels: (1) the administrative group composed of the principal, assistant principals and the business manager, (2) the faculty council composed of the

administrative group and department heads, and (3) the total staff.

Minutes of meetings for all three groups indicate that major planning decisions and approval of major curricular and co-curricular activities were made by the administrative group. The faculty council was always informed of major decisions, and, at times, had input prior to the making of major decisions by the administration. All staff members were kept informed of policy and planned changes through both department meetings and staff meetings. Table 5.4 shows the type and numbers of meetings held at the school during the period 1979 through 1983.

Responses from interviewees to questions relating to the school's organizational structure and decision making processes fell into two distinct groups, those who supported the principal's style of leadership and management, and those who believed the principal to be too autocratic in his approach to staff. One supporter said,

Tom Ball was more a decision-maker than a consultative person, so he would quite often make decisions without consulting others about them. However, he did let people know what the decisions were, so it seemed that as long as people were being told what and why decisions were being made, most people accepted the situation.

Others suggested that "change had been dramatic;" "more responsibility was moved down the school's hierarchy;" and that "the principal certainly took a more prominent role in the decision making. . . . He was the head figure. . . . He was the one who made the final decisions."

Additional support for the principal's performance indicated that he "made decisions, right or wrong," and provided "support and atmosphere" to motivate others to be both creative and industrious.

New rules came in and were established, and people knew where they stood . . . people were given more to say or their ideas were encouraged.

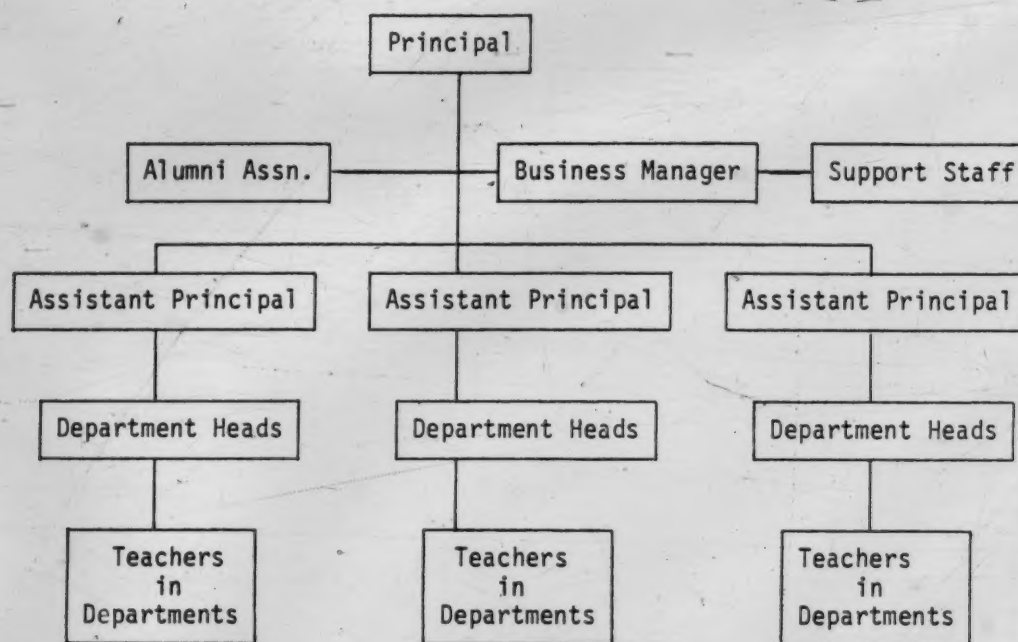


Figure 5.2

The Organizational Structure at C.C.H.S., 1979 through 1983

Tom was willing to make a decision. He stood by his decisions. The leadership he provided was almost the same as . . . when he was a (professional athlete). It was a positive attitude.

He (the principal) definitely knew in which direction he was going and he never hesitated. He is very fair but strong. He definitely could make a decision.

He (the principal) had a good management style and he was a very strong person. He wanted control, and he certainly did control it (the school). There's no question about that.

Non-supporters of the principal's style of school organization, management and leadership style were in the minority among those interviewed. They commented that the school "seemed more like a dictatorship for a while, and then it seemed to slacken off."

He (the principal) put in an utterly ruthless administration. . . . Teachers didn't have any input at all. . . . It was a movement away from a student-oriented school toward

what? I can't remember the administration ever talking about kids and education.

When I came (to C.C.H.S.) there were no real areas of responsibility. I could see very little organization. . . . There certainly wasn't any on the same level of structure that I had experienced in other schools. . . . I came out of schools where we had written policy manuals for the school, the teaching body, the student body, all the way down to operational manuals. This school didn't have them when I came here, and doesn't have to this time any of the policies the principal has imposed.

Table 5.4
Meetings Held at C.C.H.S.

Type of Meeting	School Year			
	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83
Administration	NA	31	23	28
Faculty Council	NA	14	11	11
Staff	NA	8	9	8
Total	NA	53	43	47

(Source: School Files)

Another administrative strategy that could be seen as a bureaucratic initiative was the control of information. In support of those who perceived the principal to be a symbol of power and control in the school, the examination of the minutes of in-school meetings showed Mr. Ball on more than one occasion exercised his power to control the information about school activities, events and persons that was to be sent to others outside the school. Minutes of the administration meetings held in 1981 stated that all communications leaving the school must be cleared through the principal; however, all significant achievements by both staff and students should be fully publicized.

Table 5.5
Published Media Reports on C.C.H.S.

School Year	No. of Published Reports
1979-80	12
1980-81	37
1981-82	21
1982-83	37

(Source: C.C.H.S. Clipping Books)

The lack of school policy manuals was referred to by one interviewee and was noted in the previous section. The minutes of in-school meetings shows that Mr. Ball indicated to both administrators and other staff that he preferred "guidelines rather than hard and fast rules" to guide staff when dealing with student-related problems of attendance, performance, and achievement levels.

Addressing the question of communicating information to others outside of the school, the principal said,

I wanted what we were doing to be known publicly. I wanted it in the newspapers. I wanted people to understand the fact that we realized the problems, but that we were also looking after the problems. Any time I could get front page coverage, I didn't care if it was bizarre, I would take it. . . . I am more sensitive today than I used to be (about negative publicity) because our problems are fewer. One thing I enjoyed about the people in this institution is that we understand that there are problems, young people have problems, but . . . we do solve them, and we catch them quickly. We have a fantastic track record.

An investigation into the school's records revealed that a "clipping book" was started at the commencement of the 1979-80 school year by the school's office staff at the direction of the principal.

Table 5.5 indicates that published reports about C.C.H.S. in the media increased by over 300 percent during the period 1979 through 1983.

Professional development was another administrative initiative identified. Without exception interviewees acknowledged that the school's administration provided enthusiastic support for teachers to engage in a variety of professional development activities. The data in Table 5.6 indicate that during the period 1978 through 1983 staff used a greater number of professional development activity days each year. The exception was in 1982-83 when funding for professional development was reduced due to budgetary cutbacks.

Staff members' comments on the administration's attitude toward professional development activities included the following: "Tom's been very good. If a conference is on somewhere and you want to go, he seldom said no." "People were given the opportunity . . . the administration was very positive." Similarly, "People were given the confidence or they had the confidence in the administration that they could try and do things."

Prior to the 1980-81 school year teachers requested financial assistance to engage in professional development activities from the Central Services division of the school district. The implementation of school based budgeting at C.C.H.S. enabled the school's administration to allocate a percentage of the school's budget allocation toward teachers' anticipated professional development activities.

The data in Table 5.7 indicates the school's budget for professional development activities for each of the school years 1980 through 1983.

Table 5.6

Professional Development Activities

	School Year				
	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83
No. of Teachers	80	78	87	86	83
No. of Professional Development Days	113	123	141	178	144
Average No. of Days per Teacher	1.41	1.57	1.62	2.23	1.8

(Source: School district records)

Selection of the principal. The appointment of the new principal, Mr. Thomas Ball, to Central Composite High School in the spring of 1978 was greeted with some surprise but little enthusiasm by the C.C.H.S. staff. Within the school staff morale was low, the future of the school uncertain, and the multi-ethnic population of 1,500 students appeared to be unconcerned at the retirement of the incumbent principal. Staff members noted that students were heard to say that they would not be able to identify the retiring principal if asked to point him out from among the school's faculty, even though he had served the school for fourteen years, seven as principal.

The selection process for school administrators provided for C.C.H.S. staff to elect one staff member to sit on the seven-member selection committee. The teacher nominated recalled that the committee chairman, a senior administrator, made it really clear that the committee's role was to advise the administration through a rank ordering of the 21 candidates. "It was made clear," he noted, "our role

was advisory."

Interviewer: What were you looking for in the candidates?

Teacher: I was really concerned about selecting a new principal for our school because of the type of school it was . . . a drug and alcohol problem, and it was pretty rough . . . we were getting the worst kids in the city that had been thrown out of every other school . . . the staff were looking for someone who was tough and (who) would get some tighter structure into the administration of the school.

Interviewer: What do you think the staff of Central wanted?

Teacher: The staff wanted the school cleaned up, you know, sort of in a physical sense . . . someone tough on the kids and who would be able to handle the staff.

There was quite a bit of concern at that time, too, that the school was just going to disappear, that the Board was going to sell it . . . I think the staff was looking for someone to kind of provide some leadership or keep the thing together.

Interviewer: In terms of the committee ratings of the candidates, was Mr. Ball a preferred choice for Central?

Teacher: No, we thought he was going (elsewhere). . . . Nobody paid . . . attention to him. . . . He also refused to write a 45-minute essay he was supposed to write . . . none of us would have hired him if he refused to that, but he got away with it.

The appointee, Mr. Ball, at 52 years of age, had been a teacher within the district for 27 years, and had administrative experience at both the school and at the district supervisory level. Prior to entering teaching he had been a professional athlete and had achieved significant national acclaim for his athletic prowess.

Interviewer: Can you recollect how it came about that you were appointed principal of C.C.H.S.?

Principal: The Superintendent asked me if I would take C.C.H.S., and I suppose there was a reason there, because maybe they wanted to get rid of me knowing that this school was to be sold in three years. . . . I think I could have had any of the three schools available. Maybe that's incorrect, because once the Superintendent gets his mind made up, it's made up.

Table 5.7
Professional Development Budget

	School Year		
	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83
No. of Teachers	87	86	80
P. D. Budget (\$)	8,400	42,650	53,960
Average-Allocation per Teacher (\$)	97	496	675

(Source: School based budget documents)

Interviewer: You indicated that you would not have accepted the principalship of anything other than a high school. Why?

Principal: I'm very egotistical. . . . I think I'd probably do as good a job as anyone in the business, and I didn't want to waste my talents on a junior high school.

Interviewer: You felt that a high school offered a special challenge?

Principal: Particularly this high school. It was one hell of a challenge.

An alumnus of C.C.H.S. who was also a community activist was asked to recollect his thoughts at the time of Mr. Ball's appointment to the principalship of C.C.H.S.

Interviewee: I don't think many people know of this event, but there were about three different lobby groups going on at that time regarding who would come here (to C.C.H.S.). There was one . . . some of the administrators on the school's staff had a preference for. My understanding was that Tom Ball had been approached to go to (another school). However, some of us were looking for someone to fit a certain kind of mould.

Interviewer: What kind of mould?

Interviewee: A disciplinarian. Someone that had the energy and whatever to make change. Somebody who would make decisions and stick by them. Somebody that was an authority figure. . . . It was interesting. After his

appointment he sought me out and we sat and talked. We talked about some of the things he had in mind.

Interviewer: Why did he seek you out?

Interviewee: I'm not sure. Whether he knew I was a hellraiser and might cause problems if he didn't or whether he thought I was a concerned ally that could be beneficial to the school. Could be either way. I never asked him; besides, he needed some support at that time. He, in coming here, laid down some things like a "no smoking" policy; he fixed floor tiles all throughout the school and got some of the school painted. . . . During the first few weeks of school when the changes were being made (September, 1979), I was here walking the halls and enforcing the "no smoking." I was encouraging my son to spread the word that, hey, this is the way it's going to be, and it's going to get better. Just getting the visible presence.

Interviewer: Looking back on that first year, what would you say were some of the major changes that came about in the school. You mentioned the smoking--was that one of the major changes?

Interviewee: Yes. The smoking thing was visible. The other change was that the teachers and administrators who cared, and there were a lot, (there were at that time a lot of them who didn't care because of what happened before), but the ones who cared were the ones who were important, who were in a position to make things happen within the school, had the support to do those things. And I think that was one of the key things. . . . Tom Ball gets a lot of credit for doing a lot of things, but in my opinion, he did only one thing--he provided the support and the atmosphere for the people working with him to do the job.

Interviewer: How would you describe Tom's leadership role? What kind of leader was he during that first year?

Interviewee: The biggest thing that differentiated the leadership before Tom was that Tom was willing to make a decision. He stood by his decisions. He was willing to have, within his guidelines, his administrators make decisions and he backed them up, and therefore they were able to do their job. The leadership he provided was almost the same as the leadership he provided when he was (a professional athlete). It was a positive attitude--It can be done and it will be done.

Staff members at C.C.H.S. offered the following recollections regarding Mr. Ball's appointment and his first year as the school's

principal:

He was a natural figurehead for the position by his very nature.

The change was dramatic. The re-establishment of authority in the school. There was very little prior to that time. The philosophy of (the previous principal) was that if you enforce authority on kids, they rebel. . . . We saw a return to discipline in the school, and the attitude of parents toward the school has vastly improved because of the discipline and the atmosphere.

I think our assistant principals have less influence on decisions than they did before. (The previous principal) ruled by group decision if he could get it. . . . I would think now that we are getting one man's opinion standing out above the rest.

Relating the last concern to an assistant principal, he noted that Mr.

Ball

brought a more autocratic approach to problems. However, from my point of view, probably one of the most important changes was simply that decisions were being made, right or wrong; and it was something that I think some of us, if not all of us, were really looking forward to. Prior to that we were more of a committee, and if in doubt, we formed a sub-committee. Someone had to make decisions and Tom certainly did.

Two perceptions of the new principal dominated the recollections of interviewees: (1) that he was selected because he projected an image of power and authority, and (2) that he was successful because he used his power and authority to make decisions and to encourage and support creative decision making by others.

The implementation of the Principles of Organization. In the late 1970s, the senior administrators proposed the adoption and implementation of a plan to reorganize the administrative structure and process within the district. A series of propositions, proposals, and planning processes were developed and directed toward "improving school effectiveness through school budgeting as part of a comprehensive

management process." This package (Appendix II) became known as the Principles of Organization.

The major thrust of the reorganization was to increase the degree of decentralization of decision making from district administrators to school level administrators. The advantages to decentralization were noted by Maynes (1980:16) to be

1. an increase in motivation for lower level management (school-level administrators);
2. more timely decisions;
3. decision making that reflects sensitivity to local conditions; and the provision of
4. a rationale for accountability.

A senior district administrator indicated that the two most significant reasons for the reorganization were (1) to lessen the management role of district administrators by "the wedding or bringing together of authority and responsibility" and (2) to clarify the roles and responsibilities of district staff. He added that prior to 1979 each school was responsible for the provision and outcomes of its programs, but, principals had no authority to direct or redirect staff or other resources to meet the changing needs of students. In addition to this problem, he noted that there was a proliferation of district staff with unclear roles and responsibilities. He commented,

Nobody really knew who was who in the zoo. There were, maybe, twenty directors, thirty supervisors--some fifty people would be supposedly giving directions to individual schools. There was a split between responsibility and authority. . . . We were convinced that people at the lowest level of an organization who are capable of making a decision could be making that decision.

Decentralization at the school district level allowed each school

to apply assigned resources for its own priorities. The Principles of Organization, the district's new administrative model, required schools to plan during the 1979-80 school year for the implementation of decentralization at the start of the next school year.

Interviews with C.C.H.S. teachers, administrators and senior district administrators indicated that they understood decentralization and the Principles of Organization to mean a system of school based budgeting (S.B.B.). However, a senior district superintendent noted that few principals really understood the intent of the Principles of Organization.

Few of the principals in our schools, even today . . . see the relationships between the decentralization of resources, staff, student performance, and parents' level of satisfaction with the system of education offered in our district. Many still fail to see how the budgeting process fits into the total management process.

A memorandum sent to principals by this superintendent in 1982 restated that one of the basic goals of the Principles of Organization was to improve the future performance of personnel and the achievement of district goals. The memorandum stated that plans for improved performance of district personnel should be in terms of results, not the process(es) through which the results might be achieved. The memorandum continued,

The plans to improve performance must be consistent with the results expected from the performance of the role and responsibilities assigned to the individual.

A document prepared by district staff for presentation to a conference of educators reviewed the four year period, 1979 through 1983, during which the Principles of Organization were being implemented. This document noted that with decentralization of

traditional district roles and responsibilities, the role of the principal had changed.

There is little question that the principal has gained additional decision-making powers. But with the increased authority comes increased responsibility. The "role and responsibility" statement clearly identifies that the principal is accountable for all facets of the school's operation--for the outcome of curricular and co-curricular programs, to the community's attitude towards school, to the cleanliness of the school. The principal must act as the common advocate for parents, teachers, students, and support staff, and, in this role, must be able to identify the needs of these "stakeholders" in a common plan, the school based budget.

As part of the new administrative plan, six area associate superintendents were appointed to oversee the administration of approximately thirty schools, one or two high schools and a combination of elementary and junior high schools. In addition, schools were phased-in to the decentralized budgeting system. The area associates assumed their new roles at the start of the 1979-80 school year. During the same year, C.C.H.S. began the process of planning its first school based budget.

Interviewees were asked for their reactions to the Principles of Organization, and whether the school had been influenced by any changes in the district's administration, organization, and operation. Their responses indicated that they had little knowledge of the Principles of Organization. However, with encouragement from the interviewer to think of any major changes that may have occurred in the district's administration and organization in recent years, most interviewees identified "school based budgeting" as the most significant organizational change that had been introduced within the past five years. Commenting on the effects of the decentralized system of planning, one interviewee said, "School based budgeting is probably the best thing that ever happened to this school system . . . it allowed us to attach our priorities."

Another indicated that "School based budgeting was a really good idea. . . . We could make decisions based on what the teacher thought was important," and a third noted that "School based budgeting gave us a little more freedom as to how to handle our budget. . . . We don't, however, have much freedom in using the budget in terms of staffing."

Some people were not impressed by the implementation of the decentralized planning process. One interviewee indicated that he felt that the new administration was "more concerned with the budget than with education." Another said,

I think our business is to educate students. Administrators should be educational leaders and not finance people. I think it was a horrible mistake. The worst thing that ever happened to education.

The school's budget documents for each of the school years 1980 through 1983 (Appendix III) indicate that each department within the school had input into the formulation of both its program objectives and the disbursements of its financial allocation. In addition, these documents indicate an increasing awareness by the administration and staff of the school of how the strategic planning process prescribed in the Principles of Organization could facilitate the development of a budget statement that presented the general and specific goals and objectives of the school, and the allocation of sufficient resources to enable the stated goals and objectives to be met.

Site selection for an administration complex. The reaction of C.C.H.S. staff members to the site selection for the school district's new administrative complex is typified by the following teacher's comment:

When I first saw that hole in the ground, I said (to some of my colleagues), "That hole in the ground was going to save us and was going to turn the school around." . . . I thought

that's the best possible thing that could happen.

The final report and recommendation of the Consultant Team established to select an appropriate site for the complex was submitted to district administrators on March 3, 1980, and the selected site was approved by the Board of Trustees on March 12, 1980. The C.C.H.S. staff were formally advised at a staff meeting held on April 14, 1980. The following statement was recorded in the minutes of the staff meeting:

It is estimated that the new administrative complex will be completed in one and a half years. Central High School is being considered as a Fine Arts Centre under the new set-up. It is also anticipated that Central will be operating as a Grade 7 to 12 school within the next two years.

Each person interviewed agreed that the selection of the site adjacent to C.C.H.S. for the complex meant that the school had a future and that the future of Central looked much brighter than it had one year earlier.

One of the teachers noted,

We always felt when it was announced that it would have quite a bearing on what is happening in this school. . . . I thought certainly, for this school, it was going to have an effect. Whether the effect was to be positive remained to be seen.

An additional perception was added by one of the associate superintendents interviewed.

The decision to build on this site (adjacent to C.C.H.S.) generated two responses from the school's staff: (1) a sigh of relief, and (2) the administrators are going to take over the whole school. The first response appeared to recognize that the school would not be sold; the second related to the obvious "them-us" perceptions that some people have of central office personnel as opposed to school-based personnel.

One member of the school's staff who had previously indicated feelings of isolation from the mainstream of communication within the school provided the following perceptions to the site selection and the

eventual building of the complex:

I don't think it had any effect on the school initially. While the building was being built, it was just a hole in the ground, and after it was completed, the building was shut off from the school.

The principal noted:

The first indication that I had that they weren't going to sell the school was when I saw them dig the hole for the new building. Nobody came to me and said the sale was off.

I asked Mr. Ball whether during the site selection period or immediately after the site was selected, if there were any indications how the role of the school might change in relation to the complex. He replied,

None. There was never any indication; there was never any discussion. It was never even discussed with regard to what was going to happen to Central.

The president of the school's Alumni Association provided an additional perspective on the decision to build the complex adjacent to the school.

He said,

I got a real charge out of that (the site selection). I had involvement in it, both visible and invisible. As a citizen looking at the costs of building on the various alternative sites . . . and the other thing is that the information that I found at City Hall (Planning Department) was that there was going to be a continued requirement for a downtown high school beyond the year 2000 . . . and so I initiated a one-man lobby to have the Administrative Complex put on the end of the school. My rationale was based on the fact that the district did not have to buy the land, that the site was central (in the inner city), and based on the fact that I wanted Central Composite High School to remain on its present location.

The formal recognition that the future of the school was being secured was contained in a report of the School Board meeting in the local newspaper. Under a headline dated March 12, 1980, "Board Settles on Site for Offices," the report included the following statement: "Under the game plan, (the school) will remain open as a high school."

The four groups of initiatives presented above were categorized by

the researcher as belonging to the bureaucratic dimension of meaning. In this study, cultural change in an inner-city high school, the bureaucratic dimension of meaning was related to initiatives (identified from the data) that were directed toward changing the formal control mechanisms, the rules, regulations, schedules and related accountability mechanisms, within the school.

An additional group of initiatives were identified by the researcher. These, too, related to efforts that were made by school and school district personnel to change the culture. However, the interpretations of those interviewed indicated that this second group of initiatives provided symbols of desirable performance, rather than formal directives for behaviour. These symbolic forms of initiatives were categorized as belonging to a cultural dimension of meaning.

Cultural Initiatives

Four initiatives, identified from the data, were categorized as belonging to a cultural dimension of meaning: (1) the creation of symbols of leadership and success, (2) staff development, (3) co-curricular program development, and (4) consultations between school and district personnel. Initiatives 1, 2, and 3 were identified as having originated from within the school. The fourth initiative was indicated to have been taken by district administrators. The data related to each of the four cultural initiatives are presented below.

Each of the identified initiatives relates to the ways through which both designated and non-designated personnel demonstrated their ability to be seen as leaders by the subordinates, superordinates, and peers. The initiatives identified in the section appear to meet what Smircich and Morgan (1982:262) describe as "the key challenge for a

leader . . . to manage meaning in such a way that individuals orient themselves to the achievement of desirable ends."

The creation of symbols. The dominant concept in this cultural initiative related to the concept of leadership. The reactions and responses of staff, students, parents and the media indicated that a lack of appropriate leadership immediately prior to 1979 had contributed to the near closure of the school, and that a new principal and more appropriate leadership had enabled the school to remain active as an inner-city high school and to be recognized locally and nationally as a school that had changed its image.

This change was seen by both interviewees and the media to have been achieved through the facilitation by the new principal of symbols, images, and activities that sought and gained the attention of people both within and outside the school. The data further shows that through a series of symbolic acts and images, the new leadership at C.C.H.S. was able to evoke patterns of meaning that gave them increasing control over the situations being managed within the school.

One of the associate superintendents interviewed expressed his belief that the major thrust of the initiatives was

to regain some of the pride, the entity that was once Central's . . . to establish a new image and try to assure people that when you go to Central it didn't mean drugs, it didn't mean fighting.

Others commenting about the symbols and images of leadership said, "Tom liked the underdog." Similarly,

Tom is a funny mix in terms of his own background, his own successes. He never forgot where he came from. He had appreciation for kids and was very, very fair in giving them a second chance.

Philosophically Tom was the right person for the school--he had enough structure in his life that he would begin to inject that into the school.

In terms of turning the school around, (Tom was) the kind of person that you wanted to begin to identify with. It was a Tom Ball . . . that is sort of an intangible. His presence--there is something with Ball that will rub off on kids, on staff. There was something about Tom that at that time was needed. Central began to be Tom . . . there was just something about Tom's presence that began to, I thought would, spread to staff and kids.

One of the questions (on a District survey) was with regard to the principal--respect? Do you like him? And I put, I certainly don't like him, but I certainly respect him.

I think that it (the school's image) was turned more into a penitentiary type of view because of the couple of newspaper stories that got out. The picture of Tom standing on the front porch with his sleeves rolled up--he looked more like a warden than a principal.

I believe that the staff here was ready to do things and I think it just needed someone to lead them. . . . The new administration came in and you know, yes, they put in some rules. But I don't think rules were the big thing. I think people were just given the opportunity. It was a fresh life. We had an administration with new ideas and new thoughts, and, the administration was positive. This school was going somewhere, and you know, you had better get on the bandwagon and help move it.

Here, kids have a chance. If it's just for their self-esteem or something, well, that's fine.

The principal certainly took a more prominent role in the decision making. Certainly he didn't do everything totally on his own, but it seems to me that he was the head figure, and that he was the one that made the final decisions.

He (the principal) does have the image . . . he is not afraid to venture an opinion or put his feelings up front. I think that the experience and what he has gone through to get to be what he is today commands respect, and if you command respect, you usually get it.

A common image commented on by a number of those interviewed referred to the "jock school" image of Central. One teacher commented,

I think that all of the efforts were directed at changing the image (of the school). But I think the problem was that the image was trying to be changed into a jock school.

This, and other staff members' comments, related to the high profile that had been given to the school's co-curricular and curricular sports

program.

The media's attention to the school was attracted by the decision made early in the 1979-80 school year to host an international basketball tournament. A newspaper report dated September 23, 1980, stated under a banner headline on its sports page: "Central Plan Basketball Tourney, Jan. 15, 16, 17, 1981," that

the tournament director, Cal West, along with a mammoth tournament organizing committee, is going all out to grab some of the spotlight. . . . In fact, Central's tournament will be one of the largest of its kind ever staged in Canada.

The announcement of the tournament at a news conference hosted by the school received wide media coverage during the period preceding the event. The extended media coverage of the school in following years continued to be dominated by stories about the individual and team sporting successes of Central's students. The "Clipping Books" maintained at the school provided the data shown in Table 5.8.

These data indicate that the initiation of the basketball tournament brought a significant increase in media attention to the school through such sports-related headlines as:

"Central Invitational Basketball--A Party for All to Enjoy,"

"Good Old School Spirit," and "Tourney Director Braces for Basketball Invasion."

One report in the city's largest daily newspaper published after the tournament's second anniversary (February 12, 1982) stated,

It all started with West. Well, actually it started with another coach at another school, and something he said to one of his players which got back to West. The coach told a player, "If you aren't going to put out, why don't you go to Central?" It was a pretty true comment. . . . I guess I decided my kids were missing the boat.

West took the team to an (out of province) tournament.

Table 5.8
Sports and Non-Sports Media Reports

	School Year			
	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83
Sports Reports	3	26	17	29
Non-Sports Reports	9	11	4	8
Total No. of Reports	12	37	21	37

(Source: C.C.H.S. Clipping Books)

"Eight of the ten kids on the team had never been on a plane before," he said. "The tournament (we attended) had been around for 28 years, and there's a lot of tradition. I watched our kids react. Overnight it transformed tough kids into the feelings of things."

Thus the tournament was born last year. And it was a super success. How big is this tournament going to become? Will it soon have to play the final in (the city's largest sports facility)?

"Not if I have anything to do with it," says Ball. "It's just right the way it is. Every game is going to be played at Central. We'll never take it out of the school. . . . The idea is to benefit Central Composite and Central Composite students."

Staff development. The principal's comments regarding how he had intended to "turn the school around" were cited in an earlier section of this chapter, Visions of the Future. His comments, however, appear to be similarly relevant in their expression of the priority in which staff development was held by Mr. Ball. He said,

It is a very difficult question when somebody asks you how do you turn a school around; or how do you change the climate of the school? You first have to get to the staff, because they are the front-line people. . . . And once you get your staff on line, and once your staff knows that you are going to support them, you are in the process of doing something for the staff. Now it's a very simple matter to get to the kids.

Staff members, district administrators, and the media spoke repeatedly of how esprit was built in the school during the period 1979 through 1983 through the fostering of improved collegial relationships. The majority of comments concerning staff development obtained during interviews made reference to the encouragement staff received from the administration to be creative and to participate in professional development activities. However, a detailed examination of the minutes of staff meetings indicate that the staff Social Committee was most active organizing formal and informal social gatherings. Almost every staff meeting had an agenda item that provided a Social Committee report of upcoming social activities. A less formal series of administration and staff social gatherings remains in the memory of the researcher. Although not referred to directly by those interviewed, the researcher recalls that the administration would encourage staff members to gather at a local social club each Friday after school. These and other social gatherings are remembered as providing opportunities for the development of more equalized interaction between colleagues rather than the patterns of organization and communication characteristic of hierarchical superior-subordinate relationships.

Co-curricular program development. The growth in staff morale was identified by interviewees to be directly related to the staff's growth in confidence of their principal. An additional relationship to the principal's leadership was also noted in that behaviour seen as leadership behaviour encouraged leadership behaviour in others.

This relationship was commented on by most teachers, school and district administrators and the community members. Their comments suggested that the development of a number of successful co-curricular

programs was initiated by both teachers and administrators as a direct result of the leader image provided by the principal.

The development of three new co-curricular programs is noted in the data: (1) the basketball tournament, (2) the cheerleading and dance groups, and (3) the multicultural awareness program. Each of these co-curricular programs was noted to have been developed to meet the school's goals.

The primary developer of the tournament, one of the school's administrators, said that the motivation for the tournament was that the school needed "something, anything. We just simply felt that this was one thing we might be able to do." He added that staff and student involvement in the tournament went beyond the administration's expectations.

I think the key thing was people who became involved in co-curricular for the first time probably felt that there was a little more worth or appreciation for the countless hours they spent. I think they were rewarded in one way or another, possibly with program time, or just simply knowing that someone cared and felt these things were important.

An associate superintendent commenting on the changes he saw occurring in the school indicated that a combination of initiatives had helped to make being a part of C.C.H.S. a more satisfying experience. He added that

the change in public image, improved public relations, through such things as the basketball tournament, the cheerleaders' activities, the multicultural days, and the change in teachers' attitudes set trends. They were symbols.

The basketball tournament, inaugurated in January, 1981, became an annual event at C.C.H.S. However, as a number of staff members noted, there were other high profile, successful co-curricular program developments.

Like the basketball tournament, the school records show that the

Multicultural Appreciation Program (M.A.P.) was initiated by one of the C.C.H.S. administrators. A record of the program's philosophy, goals and objectives states the M.A.P. concept was developed and implemented to meet one of the primary goals of the school:

To facilitate a sense of community-citizen responsibility embracing respect for the rights of others, respect for law and authority, and respect for public and private property.

The M.A.P.'s philosophy stated:

Central Composite High School recognizes that language, cultural and social life are culturally intertwined. The M.A.P., as an extension of the educational experiences provided by the school, encourages young persons of all races, colours or creeds to recognize their identity as Canadians while learning respect for the diversity of other students represented in the school's population.

During the period April, 1981, through June, 1983, the cultures and peoples of Indochina, the West Indies, Chile, the Philippines, the British Isles, the Ukraine, and the East Indies were each exemplified in a week-long festival of song, dance, literature, music, art and food.

Organizing committees established for each festival involved students, staff, parents and community members in inter-disciplinary studies relating to each cultural theme. The culminating event of each festival week was an ethnic banquet prepared by students and community members. In excess of four hundred people, including Provincial Government Ministers, are recorded as having attended each of the festival banquets; however, unlike the basketball tournament, the school failed to achieve media attention for this program.

The principal was asked to comment on the initiatives that were taken within the school to encourage student participation and improve their behaviour and level of satisfaction with the school. He replied,

I think the feeling, maybe you can call it esprit de corps of the student body, that is what takes time. Getting 1,500 kids

from a thousand different walks of life, and a thousand different ways of doing things, and having them have some feeling; some mutual feeling of togetherness. It was very difficult in the school because they draw from everywhere, all over the city. We had no community as such, our community is the entire city. So once the climate and atmosphere of the school started to look a little better . . . then we started to work on student programs.

The co-curricular cheerleading program, like the M.A.P. and the basketball tournament endeavours, was promoted by the school's administration to complement the male-dominated basketball tournament. The teacher who asked to lead the group early in 1980 said in a televised interview,

When Tom came he promoted a great deal among the staff to get involved in spirit, and he gave us a great deal of support. From that support it made it a lot easier to get things rolling. I had a great deal of interest in cheerleading and dance, and that facilitated the opportunity to help that grow. We were given a little bit more money and a little bit more interest, and once you start that, it just grows and grows by itself.

At the conclusion of the television interview, the interviewer turned to Mr. Ball and asked,

And the tournament has really worked, has it, Tom?

Tom: Unbelievably good. Front page news.

Interviewer: Good coverage, too?

Tom: Excellent coverage.

Interviewer: I congratulate you both and your entire staff for bringing spirit back to Central Composite High School.

District consultations. An indication that an initiative had been taken by district personnel to establish informal communication linkages with the school was provided by Mr. Ball during one of our interviews. I asked him, "How much input did you have as to the site selection for the new administrative complex?" He replied,

Oh, I was very pleased with this because, superficially anyhow . . . I was included in every reading they had. Well, almost every reading. . . . I could not believe it, knowing full well that it did not make a bit of difference to too many people.

During this part of our interview Mr. Ball also noted that although the Superintendent of Schools came to the school on one occasion before the site was selected to tell the staff of the alternative sites being considered, neither he, as the principal, nor the staff were advised of the future of the school. He noted,

There was never any indication, there was never any discussion. Absolutely nothing. It was never even discussed with regard to what was going to happen to Central Composite High School.

Following the theme of this discussion, the associate superintendent, whose area included C.C.H.S., was asked, "What were your goals for the future of the school?" He replied, "I had hopes for the school. . . . They came to a grinding halt. The administration complex became the major area of emphasis."

Summary

The presentation of the third theme in this case study, The Management of Meaning, has provided information on the initiatives that were taken by school and school district personnel to achieve the goals established for the school during the period 1979 through 1983. The initiatives identified from the data indicated to the researcher that people both within and outside the school were affected by and had an effect on the management of meaning that related to the image that the school projected to its staff, students, parents, and to the community at large.

The initiatives categorized as belonging to a bureaucratic

dimension of meaning were shown to have brought about significant changes in the manner in which the school was organized. The district's initiative in the selection and appointment of the new principal was indicated to have facilitated the implementation of a significant number of revised administrative strategies within the school. In addition, the selection of the site for the new administrative complex was indicated to have provided a degree of security that the school would continue to exist as an inner-city high school.

In addition to the initiatives identified as having a bureaucratic connection, another group of initiatives were identified and categorized as belonging to a cultural dimension of meaning. These cultural initiatives were shown to have had a symbolic effect on the school's population by providing images and models of success-oriented behaviours.

The data indicated that the most significant initiatives were the selection and appointment of the new principal and his subsequent initiatives to "turn the school around." However, while each initiative was categorized as belonging to a single dimension of meaning, the data indicated that both the initiatives taken and their subsequent effects on the school's culture were interactive.

The categorization of each initiative into one of the two dimensions of meaning reflected the researcher's view of how people interpreted their working environment and the meanings they attributed to the people, events, symbols, and images that facilitated the attainment of cultural change within the school, the attainment of a sense of organization.

Theme 4: Symbols of Success

The fourth theme that emerged from this case study provides evidence that during the period 1979 through 1983, C.C.H.S. changed from an educational institution described by some as "the hostile halls of learning," to a school in which staff, students and parents began to express high levels of satisfaction with its overall effectiveness including its survival as an inner-city high school, its public image, and student staff performance.

The Goals Attained

The previous three themes have examined: (1) the problems that beset an inner-city high school prior to 1980, (2) the goals established to attain a more effective school, and (3) the initiatives that were taken to achieve these goals. This, the fourth theme, Symbols of Success, describes the goals attained by a group of people in an inner-city high school in their desire to achieve both the school's continuance and its improvement. The goals attained have been identified from the data as belonging to one of two dimensions of meaning, the bureaucratic dimension and the cultural dimension. The goal attainments that related to changes in the formal structure of the school have been described as belonging to the bureaucratic dimension of meaning. The goal attainments that related to changes in the images and symbols of the school have been described as belonging to the cultural dimension of meaning.

The goal attainments identified as belonging to the bureaucratic dimension included (1) the continuance of the school, (2) the school's improved physical environment, and (3) the increased level of student achievement. The goal attainments presented as belonging to the

cultural dimension were (1) an improved school climate, (2) an improved public image, and (3) improvement in staff morale.

Bureaucratic Goals Attained

The continuance of the school. Despite the certainty that pervaded the staff of C.C.H.S. in 1979 that the school would be closed within three years, the school continued to serve its students and the community to the end of the period of this study, a period of four years.

Information has been presented in earlier sections of this chapter that the school's continuance was in doubt in the minds of its principal, its staff and students, and its community. Evidence was also presented that indicated that the district's senior administrators were uncertain as to the future of C.C.H.S. The first formal statement of intent that indicated the school would remain open was contained in a press report dated March 12, 1980, that stated:

. . . Public School Trustees approved a site Tuesday for a new \$13.6 million Administrative Complex to be adjoined to Central Composite High School. . . . Under the new game plan, Central Composite High School will remain open as a high school.

Commenting on his incoming assumption that his principalship at C.C.H.S. would be of a short-term duration, the principal said,

I set down three years to do the whole job. To get everything put together the way I wanted it put together. . . . We accomplished that in one and a half years, which put me a year and a half ahead of schedule. . . . We turned around so quickly, much quicker than anybody thought, particularly me. I understood I had a maximum of three years, and I would be lucky to get it pushed into three.

Improved physical environment. Goals and objectives presented as part of the school's annual school based budget submission contained the

following statements:

Students will demonstrate more respect for school property as evidenced by fewer acts of vandalism, lower frequency of student discipline problems and improved school spirit (School Based Budget, 1980-81).

Staff perceptions have noted the following (during 1980-81):

- (1) A cleaner school, i.e., hallways and play areas. The cafeteria requires further improvement.
- (2) Vandalism is reduced.
- (3) Fewer disciplinary actions regarding smoking, use of improper language and fighting have been noted. No actions re fighting have been recorded this year.

A significant improvement has been noted in "school spirit." This was most evident during the extremely successful invitational basketball tournament. Compliments from visiting teams, coaches, and the general public reinforce our staff perceptions. The renewed vigour of school football, basketball and drill teams has resulted in championship calibre events. Good sportsmanship awards presented to the senior basketball team on three separate occasions are indicative of a positive direction in Central sports. We anticipate the annual School Board Survey will confirm our perceptions (School Based Budget, 1981-82).

All interviewees were in agreement that the physical environment of the school improved during the period 1979 through 1983. One teacher said,

... everything was cleaned up, physically cleaned up. ... But in those first few years the most dramatic change was that the smoking was stopped in the school, and the kids couldn't sit around eating their lunch and leaving their lunch bags all over the place. I saw a definite change that came about because of the new administration. It was certainly something that was needed.

A department head who had been at the school for over twenty years described both the period prior to the 1979-80 school year and the years that followed. He recalled that the school's physical environment during the previous principal's tenure

was not good. I don't think they (students) were too impressed with the "wide-open" policy (of freedom). The (floor) tiles were all spotted, garbage all around. It was just horrible. Obviously the students couldn't cope with that degree of freedom and just would not accept responsibility.

Table 5.9

Monthly Costs to Repair Acts of Vandalism
Within the School District, 1979-83

	Average Monthly Costs per School Year			
	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83
Each District School	140	302	118	177
Each High School	752	1,681	613	904
C.C.H.S.	2,173	3,978	1,417	1,167

(Source: District Director of Security)

I think there has definitely been a positive change (since 1979) in the level of vandalism. This administration has certainly made a change for the positive and it's obvious now that it was a time to do something, and it's been good.

In support of these comments regarding the use and abuse of the school, the district's Supervisor of Security provided data that showed that during the period 1979 through 1983 the monthly cost to repair acts of vandalism at C.C.H.S. decreased by almost fifty percent. These data in Table 5.9 show that the average monthly costs to repair acts of vandalism at each of the schools within the district increased by more than twenty-six percent, while the average monthly increase in costs for the district's twelve high school's, including C.C.H.S., is shown to have increased by more than twenty percent.

In a review of the 1979-80 school year, a statement under the heading "Program Highlights" was included as part of the school's first school based budget document. The statement referred to the introduction of the no-smoking policy and its general acceptance by students considering that the policy was "a drastic departure from what

was permitted at this school in the past." The statement continued:

Although smoking in school is a minor detail, the no-smoking policy is vitally important to the overall atmosphere of the school. We felt that a no-smoking policy was a good focal point from which to launch a larger campaign to clean up the school.

There is evidence that the overall plan is working. The school is cleaner, there is less damage to floors, and many students have commented on the physical condition of the school.

Increased student achievement. Specific goals to change the level of students' achievement are not indicated to have been a primary focus of Mr. Ball's administration. Mr. Ball himself noted that his primary concerns on assuming the principalship of C.C.H.S. were to concentrate on "imposing a few new policies on the students, such as no smoking in the school," and to change the climate of the school by getting his staff "on line."

Table 5.10
Levels of Students' Achievements

School Year	No. of Students	Grades					Average Mark
		A 80-100	B 65-79	C 50-64	D 40-49	F -40	
1979-80		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1980-81	1,183	15.8	33.2	35.8	10.1	5.0	62.3
1981-82	1,184	16.1	31.6	37.2	10.0	5.1	62.3
1982-83	1,155	17.3	22.1	36.5	8.2	4.7	63.1

(Source: District Records)

Each of the school based budget documents prepared for the years 1982-83 contain similar goal statements that relate to student achievement. The 1980-81 document, for example, states, "Achievement levels of students at Central Composite High School will be maintained in all instructional programs."

There were few indications within any of the available budget or other in-school documents to indicate that the school's administration placed a priority on increasing students' achievement within specific program and subject areas. However, as Mr. Ball explained, "We have concentrated on decreasing the number of failures . . . we are not seeing how many ninety percenters we can get."

Data obtained from the associate superintendent of Monitoring Systems within the district are presented in Table 5.10. These data show that during the period 1980 through 1983 the number of students that attained a mark of eighty percent or better increased by one and one-half percent. During the same period the failure rate, those below forty percent, decreased by less than half of one percent. While the levels of students' achievement did not appear to change significantly, both the principal and others interviewed indicated that they felt that overall student achievement had improved.

An additional dimension of students' achievement was found in the school's record of curricular and co-curricular award recipients. These data, presented in Table 5.11 show that during the period 1978 through 1983 the number of awards presented to students at C.C.H.S. increased from 205 to 328, an increase of sixty percent. These data also indicate that while curricular awards during the period increased by almost forty-nine percent, co-curricular awards increased by almost eighty-seven percent.

Table 5.11
Curricular and Co-Curricular Award Presentations

Awards	School Year				
	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83
Curricular	144	138	129	171	214
Co-curricular	61	96	90	94	114
Total	205	234	219	265	328

(Source: C.C.H.S. Award Programs and Yearbooks)

The Cultural Goals

Cultural goals were defined earlier in this chapter as goals that are "directed toward the process of people's consciousness to influence how they think about who they are and what they do within an organization." Analysis of the data indicated that three cultural goals were attained: (1) an improved school climate, (2) an improved public image, and (3) improved staff morale. The data also provided evidence that the staff at C.C.H.S., the students, their parents, as well as the media, perceived these three goal attainments as the major achievements of the school during the period 1979 through 1983.

The improvements to each of the three goal areas were perceived by both the media and interviewees to be interrelated. Media reports commencing in 1980 began to portray the staff, students and the climate of the school to be dynamic and "full of spirit."

Mr. Cleanup--burly principal Tom Ball brings law and order to Central Composite (May 9, 1980).

Kids (at C.C.H.S.) now are saying, . . . maybe someone here

really cares about what's going on in the school and maybe I should, too (May 9, 1980).

Ball, the new no-nonsense principal of the inner city's Central Composite High School, credits his "severe policy of restrictions and sanctions" for curbing vandalism and violence (May 26, 1980).

"This is a great school with great school spirit. . . . When those kids gave us that standing ovation it sent tingles down my spine." West was referring to the standing ovation accorded the students, teachers and administrators of Central Comp. by the roughly 500 guests during the closing ceremonies (of the first basketball tournament) (January 20, 1981).

One of the components of the school district's Principles of Organization involved the monitoring of staff, students' and parents' levels of satisfaction with schools. Survey data relating to this study were obtained from the district's Associate Superintendent, Monitoring Systems. These data, presented in Table 5.12, provide information of C.C.H.S. staff, students' and parents' levels of satisfaction with leadership, management and operations during each of the school years between 1979 through 1983. Additional district data was presented to permit a comparison to be made between the satisfaction levels of each of the school's three communities, staff, students, and parents, and data that related to the overall levels of satisfaction with the schools within the school district. Reference to these data is made in each of the descriptions of the three goal attainment areas that follow.

Improved school climate. One of the administrators, describing his feelings about C.C.H.S. and the school's climate, said,

I think it's a very fine place to work. I enjoy the people. I enjoy my work. There's so much variety, and it's such a challenge, too. It's different every day.

A parent and alumnus of the school noted the timeline during which significant changes had been achieved.

Table 5.12

Staff, Students' and Parents' Levels of Satisfaction.
Selected Responses from the School District Annual Surveys

	District				Central High School			
	1979	'80	'81	'82	1979	'80	'81	'82
<u>Staff Satisfaction Level (%)</u>								
1. Support from Principal (6c)	84	89	87	90	65	91	90	95
2. Appreciation received (7)	56	65	67	70	52	65	48	59
3. Assigned Work (8)	84	88	88	89	79	87	83	79
4. Respect for Principal (13e)	74	91	86	90	79	83	92	96
5. School as a Place to Work (16)	--	92	92	94	--	92	91	87
<u>Students' Satisfaction Level (%)</u>								
6. Their Principal (8)	48	71	53	98	96	79	86	98
7. Their Asst. Principals (9)	73	73	85	88	76	84	70	72
8. Their Teachers (11)	78	77	67	85	90	93	80	97
9. Input to School Decision-Making (14)	35	32	33	60	68	53	48	54
10. School Rules and Regulations (18)	55	65	64	76	63	58	65	76
11. Co-curricular Activities (23)	74	68	80	86	83	78	78	83
12. The School Building (25)	85	75	78	91	78	81	75	79
13. School in General (33)	85	81	81	96	91	87	76	96
<u>Parents' Satisfaction Level (%)</u>								
14. School Discipline (2)	53	57	64	71	65	70	70	81
15. Child's Attitude to School (3)	79	72	71	86	79	73	80	89
16. School's Principal (5b)	85	87	86	100	94	92	96	98
17. Input to School-Related Decisions (7)	41	56	52	71	67	67	73	67
18. School in General (17)	82	83	82	91	93	90	88	97

(Source: School district records)

Really, I think it achieved more than could reasonably be expected for a school to achieve in three years to make those kind of changes. I think there are people who would say that what was done nobody could foresee. They just didn't believe that so many things could be done that well from being done so badly.

The school climate is directly related to levels of staff and students' satisfaction. The data presented in Table 5.12 indicate that the staff and students' levels of satisfaction with C.C.H.S. increased during the period 1979 through 1983. Significant increases in levels of satisfaction were indicated among C.C.H.S. related communities in the following areas: (1) support that staff felt they received from the principal, (2) the staff's respect for their principal, and (3) students' satisfaction with the discipline at the school. However, although increases in levels of staff, students' and parents' levels of satisfaction are noted in twelve of the eighteen items indicated in Table 5.12, seven of these items increased by less than ten percent over the four year period. In addition, decreases in levels of satisfaction were indicated in three items. Two items, numbers (5) and (7), decreased by less than five percent. Another, item (9), decreased by fourteen percent over the four year period.

Indicators of an improved climate within the school are shown in the data presented in Figure 5.12. The district's survey data showed that the level of C.C.H.S. staff satisfaction with the support they received from Mr. Ball increased from sixty-five to ninety-five percent during the period 1979 through 1983. This increase of more than forty-six percent was also almost seven times larger than the seven percent increase in this context experienced by staff throughout the district. Relatively high increases are also evidenced in the data that is related to staff members' levels of respect for their principal.

Both C.C.H.S. and district staff showed an increase of almost twenty-two percent in this area of satisfaction. The only decrease in staff levels of satisfaction is indicated in their response to the question, "Do you feel that your school is a good place to work?" C.C.H.S. staff showed a five percent decline in satisfaction, while staff satisfaction throughout the district increased by two percent.

Staff satisfaction levels are also lower than district levels in the areas of "appreciation received" and "assigned work." However, within C.C.H.S., staff indicated a fourteen percent increase in the level of satisfaction with "appreciation received," and indicated a changing level of satisfaction toward their assignments.

More than one teacher interviewed made reference to their assigned teaching duties. One teacher explained,

I was upset at the kinds of kids that were coming into the school, but that was a more personal thing because I can't relate to those kinds of kids as well as I can to more intellectual kids, and the kinds of courses I was teaching were set up for kids that were creative, intuitive, and a higher level of kid.

Another staff member similarly noted that he would have loved to have seen the school get a "boost in the arm" through the presence of an increased academically-oriented student body. However, the majority of interviewees expressed views that were in agreement with the comments expressed by one parent. He said that Central provided for a tremendous mix of kids, a sense of tradition, belonging and pride. It is "that type of pride," he said, "that kids off the wrong side of the tracks can relate to. It can take them a step further than they will probably ever go, and I think that's good."

A second indicator of an improved climate within the school is also shown in Figure 5.12. The data presented indicate that C.C.H.S.

students were highly satisfied with their school in general in 1979. By 1983 their level of satisfaction with their school in general increased by more than five percent and was now at one of the highest levels of satisfaction expressed by students for their school in the district. Students of C.C.H.S. similarly indicated almost total support for their principal when he assumed the position in 1979. The support declined in 1980 by almost eighteen percent (presumably because of the increased emphasis on a strict policy of enforcements and sanctions) but increased by ten and twenty-four percent respectively over the next two school years.

Students' level of satisfaction with their school rules and regulations is also seen to have increased during the period of this study to the overall district level of seventy-six percent. While students expressed an increased level of satisfaction with the rules and regulations imposed within C.C.H.S., they indicated some concern with their ability to obtain input into the decision making process. However, when compared with the district-wide responses, the students at C.C.H.S. indicated that they were generally able to have greater input into their school's decision making processes than did their peers in other schools.

Commenting on the survey data and the changes that occurred to the school climate during the period 1979 through 1983, the principal said,

It just got better. It just improved. Staff improved, staff outlook improved, and the other thing, and that's proved now through the survey reports, that the staff were completely happy and the kids were not unhappy.

Improved public image. The changes in the public image of the school have been referred to earlier in this section. However, the

survey data showed that the parents of students at C.C.H.S., as members of the public, indicated an increased level of satisfaction in four out of five areas noted in Table 5.12. Parents indicated that they continued to approve of the increase in school discipline, the school's principal, and the school in general. At the end of the 1982-83 school year, parents indicated an almost total satisfaction level with Mr. Ball and the school in general.

Of particular interest to Mr. Ball during our interviews was the increase in the parents' level of satisfaction with their children's attitudes toward their school. Parents' satisfaction increased by almost thirteen percent during the period studied, and was higher than the district average in three of the four survey years. Mr. Ball expressed his pleasure with the parental responses.

I was very pleased. . . . These are the returns on your investment. Good things seldom come back to you as quickly as the results of that survey. It showed me that something must be right that's occurring at the school. The majority of people are happy with what's going on, particularly the parents. The parents feel that this place is accomplishing something, and this, that's, hell, that's all I'm worried about.

Improved staff morale. The improvement in staff morale was commonly referred to by interviewees. Department heads agreed that for most of the members of their respective departments, the changes that occurred in staff morale were significant. Under the new administration, one department head said, "risk taking" and the "making of waves" were encouraged. "The whole environment was," he said, ". . . different. For me it's exciting, and it's different. It makes you learn."

Another department head concurred on behalf of his department members.

I think the staff as a whole are happy with (the principal) more so than I, as a matter of fact. Not that I was unhappy, but I just couldn't see any great . . . you know, you know Tom Ball, what a fantastic publicity person . . . but I wasn't, I didn't care for him too much. I think the staff are happy, though.

An associate superintendent attempted to express the qualities that the new principal brought to bear on the school and the staff. With some difficulty he suggested that

I thought in terms of the image, in terms of turning the school about, and in terms of the kind of person that you wanted to begin to identify with it was Tom Ball. That is sort of an intangible. But presence is. There was just something about Ball's presence that began to, I thought would, spread to staff and kids. . . . It began to work very quickly.

Summary

The fourth theme in this case study, Symbols of Success, contains evidence that an inner-city high school achieved a greater level of effectiveness during the period 1979 through 1983.

The boundaries of the construct of effectiveness as defined in this study are related to how a group of people in Central Composite High School achieved a sense of organization, that is a sense of being members of an effective school. The evidence for the attainment of this sense of organization was presented in this theme through the identification of the attainment of six goals. Three of the goals attained were identified as belonging to a bureaucratic dimension of meaning, and were related to changes that occurred to the direction, organization and management of the school. The remaining three goal attainments were identified as belonging to a cultural dimension of meaning and were shown to have been attained by the responses of interviewees and the district survey responses of staff, students and

parents to questions related to each group's levels of satisfaction with C.C.H.S.

The final theme that emerged from this study of cultural change in an inner-city high school related to the existence of three problems that remained unresolved at the conclusion of the 1982-83 school year. The data related to these remaining problems are presented under the thematic title, The Search for New Meaning.

Theme 5: The Search for New Meaning

The Problems Remaining

The attainment of a sense of organization by members within an organization can be likened to what Weick and Daft (1983) call the attainment of "a stable framework of meaning." Within a dynamic organization, however, the achieved sense of organization and stability of meaning may be a transitory state. This condition is noted by Cameron (1984). He indicates that individual and group perceptions and preferences are not stable; changes occur as organizations progress. While the nature of this instability may contribute to the sense of personal freedom for members of the organization, the intensity and continuity of certain perceptions and preferences may lead to the deterioration and eventual demise of the organization's effectiveness.

The Search for New Meaning is the fifth and final theme of this case study. Within this theme the researcher has attempted to identify and analyze from the data collected for this study the problems that remained, in whole or in part, unresolved at Central Composite High School at the conclusion of the 1982-83 school year. The recollections of the school's staff and the minutes of in-school meetings of that period provided evidence of three problems that continued to be of

concern to staff at the school.

The first of these problems was concerned with the lack of communication and direction from the district's administrators as to the future direction of the school. This problem was interpreted by those interviewed as being typical of bureaucratic indecision. The remaining unresolved problems identified by the researcher reflected staff members' concerns with two factors that related to the cultural dimensions of the school as an organization: (1) the maintenance of staff morale, and (2) the improvement in the school's public image. Evidence of each of these three remaining problems is presented below.

The Bureaucratic Problem Remaining

The unresolved problem most frequently identified by those interviewed related to the future of C.C.H.S. beyond 1983. Both the administration and staff at C.C.H.S. indicated that despite the major improvements that had been achieved within the previous four years, the future of C.C.H.S. remained in doubt. The problem as interpreted by those interviewed was not with the continued existence of the school (that had, they felt, been assured by the site location of the administrative complex), but rather the school's future direction.

Minutes of in-school meetings dating back to the 1980-81 school year indicate that the school's administration were taking initiatives to influence the district's decision makers in their planning for the future of the school. Among the references to the future direction of the school were the following:

Mr. Ball would like to see Central Composite operate as a Grades 7 - 12 school within the next three to four years. Administrators were asked to submit their ideas re this matter to Mr. Ball (Minutes of Administrators' Meeting, February 17, 1981).

The Board is now talking about Grades K - 12 for Central. Mr. Ball is meeting with the Trustees this afternoon (Minutes of Administrators' Meeting, April 23, 1981).

The K - 12 proposal is going ahead--a steering committee is being set up (Minutes of Administrators' Meeting, May 4, 1981).

Staff members were advised of these plans at a meeting held on April 14, 1981. The minutes for the meeting record the principal's statement that

Central Composite High School is being considered as a Fine Arts Centre under the new set-up. It is also anticipated that due to limited populations in our Junior High feeder schools, Central will be operating as a 7 to 12 or 8 to 12 school within the next two years.

An additional reference to this proposal was made at a staff meeting at the start of the 1981-82 school year.

Mr. Ball mentioned to the staff that the Board is very seriously considering the K - 12 aspect for Central Composite. . . . The Board has asked Central Composite to set up a committee to draw up a philosophy for the "proposed" school (Minutes of Staff Meeting, September 3, 1981).

The only other statement related to the "proposal" was made at an administrators' meeting during the 1982-83 school year.

Mr. Ball reports that he has received nothing but favourable reports from the School Board members re our Fine Arts proposal (Minutes of Administrators' Meeting, May 16, 1983).

To the conclusion of the 1982-83 school year no further communication was indicated in the data between district administrators and the school's administration as to the future direction of the school. An interview with an associate superintendent provided the following explanation:

Associate Superintendent:

I had hopes for the school to develop a K to 12 program including fine arts and a demonstration school. This would have provided the opportunity to consolidate the programs in the school.

Researcher: What happened to these plans? These hopes?

Associate Superintendent:

"They came to a grinding halt. The administrative complex became the major area of emphasis.

Staff members interviewed expressed their feelings concerning the continuing uncertainty about the school's future direction. One teacher said,

I didn't think the school had a hope in hell of ever being anything important or of interest or concern to the district administration or public as long as we were a dumping ground for all the worst kids in the city. We had a valid reputation as a tough inner-city school and we were going to be stuck with that forever. . . . A lot of people refused to accept the fact that that's what we were, and it wasn't going to change. Then, when the hope appeared in the ground, suddenly people believed the school was going to be saved. My perception was that the administration (District) would be ashamed to have the worst kids in the city attached to their building because they wanted it to be a show place.

The school's principal acknowledged that he, too, was frustrated with the absence of any decision making in regard to the future direction of the school. He acknowledged that he would have liked to have seen the Special Education program disappear. "But," he said, "I must be very honest about it, if it disappeared, so did our budget." Another staff member expressed his continued frustration with the lack of a long-term plan for the school. He said, "We have an outstanding facility, and we are just filling it up with more Special Education students."

The expressions of concern about the future direction of the school are well known to the researcher. As chairman of a Planning Committee, he was charged by the principal to formulate a document that would provide district administrators and Trustees with a number of alternative proposals for the future direction of C.C.H.S. The Committee's membership included representatives of government, the arts

and educational communities, and the school's alumni. A number of reports and proposals prepared by the Committee were submitted to district administrators through the principal. As evidenced by Mr. Ball's statements at meetings, and his and other staff members' expressions of frustration at the absence of a decision from the district, the school's future direction was to be interpreted by many staff as an unresolved problem long after the conclusion of the 1982-83 school year.

Cultural Problems Remaining

In their search for new meaning, a number of C.C.H.S. staff indicated that despite their relatively high levels of satisfaction with their principal and the support that they received from him, they were not as satisfied with the school as a place to work, their assigned work, and the appreciation that they received for their efforts (Table 5.12). When asked to explain the reasons for their dissatisfactions, at least three of the fourteen people interviewed expressed ongoing concerns that related to their feeling of isolation within the school. In addition, the majority of interviewees indicated that the school, despite its improvements, continued to have a negative public image.

The data related to each of these two remaining problems within the cultural dimension of meaning are presented below.

Maintenance of staff morale. Previously presented data indicated that a sense of organization, "esprit," was achieved among the staff at C.C.H.S. during the period 1979 through 1983. However, almost twenty percent of those interviewed indicated that they felt like outsiders to the collegial relationships established within the school. The

researcher categorized this group "the subculture of dissatisfaction."

A teacher who admitted to being in this minority subculture said,

... there were no real areas of responsibility. There was, I could see, very little organization. . . . I have come out of schools where we had a written policy manual for the philosophy of the school . . . the teaching . . . the student body. Now this school didn't have them when I came here and doesn't have at this time any written policy the principal has imposed.

The evidence that a subculture of dissatisfaction existed and remained within the school beyond the year 1983 is substantial. However, an additional concern expressed by a number of interviewees was related to the previously identified unresolved problem, the future direction of the school. The feelings expressed by interviewees indicated that the continued uncertainty about the school's future direction could cause the level of morale among the staff to revert back to its pre-1979 condition.

Improving the school's public image. The second and concluding unresolved problem within the cultural dimension of meaning was identified by staff members at C.C.H.S. and related to the school's public image. Each interviewee acknowledged that the initiatives taken by staff during the period 1979 through 1983 achieved the goal of changing the perceptions held by staff, students, parents, and community members toward the school. The results of the district's survey data corroborate these perceptions. However, some staff expressed the belief that the image problem was not entirely resolved. One staff member said,

The image of the school changed significantly for people who were familiar with the school. I still think that for the general citizen, they may not be aware of any significant changes in the school simply because we have not been in the (media) as often as previously.

A parent expressed an even stronger level of concern that even other educators were not aware of what changes had occurred at Central.

A reputation like this school had dies very slowly. . . . I think even to this day now there are still people who think the school hasn't changed to this day. There are people even within the education system that would not transfer here to teach, nor would they recommend a child to go here because they don't believe the school has changed as much as it has.

This parent's concerns were endorsed by one of the department heads at C.C.H.S. He pointed out that the general community, particularly those who do not have children at the school, still regard it as

more or less one of the inner city schools that has more troubles than other schools. And, in other words, still being a more or less undesirable school to send one's children to.

In an effort to investigate the media's perceptions of the school beyond June 1983, efforts were taken by the researcher to obtain copies of media reports similar to those that had been gathered into "Clipping Books" for the period 1979 through 1983. The school's librarian, who had previously maintained these books, advised the researcher that media reports of the school had not been "clipped" since the conclusion of the 1982-83 school year. No explanation was provided.

Summary of the Chapter

This chapter contains the data that describe the five themes identified in this case study of how a group of people in an inner-city high school achieved a sense of organization, a more effective school. The data were categorized within both a thematic and a dimensional context. The latter context was based on a perspective suggested by Firestone and Wilson (1985). This perspective guided the researcher to categorize the data as belonging to either a bureaucratic or cultural dimension of meaning. These data, as presented in Themes Two and Three,

were further categorized according to the source of the goals and initiatives identified. The two originating sources identified were (1) the school, and (2) the school district.

To provide a summary of the events, processes and outcomes of the case, a composite figure involving the research variables was developed. This figure (Figure 5.1, p. 91) illustrates the relationship between the major themes and dimensions of meaning identified by the researcher during the investigation and analysis of the case.

The following chapter contains an overview of the findings of the study, some observations about the use of interpretation and meaning system's models for research into school effectiveness, and a number of implications for practice and further research.

CHAPTER 6

A SENSE OF MEANING AND ORGANIZATION ATTAINED

Introduction

The key to organizational effectiveness according to Firestone and Wilson (1984) rests on the organizational leader's ability to shape the organization's culture. In order to shape the culture of a school, these authors suggest that the school's principal must first "know clearly what cultural content he prefers," and then assess the school's existing culture by focussing on its content, symbols, and communication patterns. They add, however, that very few educators have analyzed how cultures vary among schools or the way in which principals can create or shape cultures that are conducive to the attainment of a more effective learning environment; that is, a school in which both students and faculty have attained a shared sense of meaning and organization.

The intent of this study was to describe and explain cultural change in an inner-city high school. The researcher sought to investigate the process by which the students and staff at Central Composite High School, C.C.H.S., attained a sense of organization. This sense of organization is described by Firestone and Wilson (1984:7) as a "system of publicly and collectively accepted meanings, beliefs, values and assumptions" that people within an organization use to guide their actions and interpret their surroundings. According to Firestone and Wilson (1984, 1985), Smircich and Morgan (1982), and Weick and Daft (1983), investigations into the process by which organizational leaders attempt to shape and manage the meanings held by members of their

respective organization will provide additional insights into how organizations can be made more effective.

This study was based on the premise that the investigation of an inner-city high school using an historical case study research design would enable the researcher to first interpret and describe the process that resulted in cultural change at the school, and then to suggest descriptive processes through which changes in culture and image might be attained in other schools.

The first section of this chapter contains a review of the methodology and procedures used by the researcher to conduct the study. The findings of the study and the researcher's interpretations of the relationships found between the various elements in the case are presented in the second section, followed by a discussion of these findings. The congruence between the study's findings and related research and literature is discussed in the third section. The chapter concludes with implications for school districts and recommendations for further research.

Review of the Methodology and Procedures

The aim of qualitative research, suggests Owens (1982), is "to take the reader there." The researcher was assisted in the achievement of this aim through his long association with the school. He had been a member of the school's staff from 1968 to 1985, and had been both a participant in and an observer of the changes that occurred in the school throughout this period. In addition, the researcher's long association with the school facilitated his ability to (Weick and Daft, 1983:91) "wade into the organization" and attempt to understand at a deeper level the process by which staff's, students', and others'

interpretations of the school were shaped and managed during the period 1979-83.

In support of interpretive methods of enquiry both Morgan (1983) and Denzin (1983) argue that the interpretive researcher must participate in, and use concepts that belong to, the situation being studied in order to reveal its nature. This approach, suggests Morgan (1983:26) "must be to treat every human situation as novel, emergent, and filled with multiple and often contradictory meanings that cannot be understood through observation at a distance."

In addition to the research techniques suggested by Owens (1982), Weick and Daft (1983), Morgan (1983), and Denzin (1983), the qualitative research techniques suggested by Bogdan and Biklen (1982), Denzin (1978), Smircich (1983), and Das (1978) guided the research. Every effort was made by the researcher to ensure that the methodology employed in this study met the criteria outlined by Bogdan and Biklen (1982:27-30) as follows:

1. that the natural setting was the direct source of data and that the researcher was the key instrument,
2. that the research was descriptive,
3. that the researcher was concerned with process rather than with outcomes as products,
4. that the data were analyzed inductively by the researcher, and
5. that the investigation of meaning was of essential concern to the researcher.

The historical organizational case study (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982) provided the study's general design. Stake (1978:5) describes the case study as "the preferred method of research" because case studies "may be

epistemologically in harmony with the reader's experience, and thus to that person a natural basis for generalization."

The convergent methodologies used to conduct this study were indicated in the concepts of (1) symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969; Denzin, 1983), and (2) the Interpretation Systems Model (Weick and Daft, 1983). Both methodologies provided the researcher the opportunity to investigate and analyze the distinctive character of interaction as it takes place between human beings (Denzin, 1978:91); the human experiences mediated by interpretation (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982:33); the interpretive process through which meanings are handled by persons in dealing with the things they encounter (Blumer, 1969); and, as suggested by Weick and Daft (1982:76), the interpretation of the interpretations of others.

The researcher's choice of research strategies for this case study was guided by (1) the historical nature of the research problem, (2) the researcher's intent to be guided by Denzin (1978) and to adopt strategies that could be triangulated, and (3) the researcher's past association with the inner-city high school. The research strategies chosen were elite interviews (Dexter, 1970), and the unobtrusive measures (Denzin, 1978) of historical document searches and analysis of information collected by means of survey instruments.

The major data gathering strategies were (1) a series of arranged but informal in-depth interviews using a non-standardized, unstructured approach suggested by Dexter (1970) for use when information is being sought from people identified as being well-informed, prominent, and influential, and (2) the collection and analysis of a broad array of historical documents, media reports, and surveys that related to events,

activities, problems and achievements of staff, students, and others concerned with the school.

The researcher also held many casual conversations on the history of the school with teachers and others aware of the school's history as the first high school in the city. The researcher had access to school minutes and other reports and documents identified by interviewees, informants, and himself as being related to the study. Over a four-month period he conducted fourteen arranged interviews and held numerous informal discussions with school, school district, and community personnel. All except one of the arranged interviews were tape recorded. For the single interview not tape recorded, at the request of the interviewee, the researcher was able to take copious notes.

The general approach to inductive research as outlined by Glaser and Strauss (1966, 1967), Guba (1978), Guba and Lincoln (1982), LeCompte and Goetz (1982), Denzin (1978), and the particular coding and category development tactics as suggested by Bogdan and Biklen (1982) and Turner (1981) were employed. In this approach the data collection process was guided by the principles of theoretical sampling, theoretical saturation and the constant comparative method.

The researcher initiated the coding and categorization of each segment of the data as it was gathered. However, it was not until all of the data had been gathered that the researcher had the opportunity to immerse himself in the elements uncovered.

After the data collection phase of the study was complete, the researcher spent an additional four months reflecting on the data and on the development of the coding and categorization of the data.

Throughout the period he was guided by his doctoral supervisory committee and assisted by his peers within the doctoral program. His committee and peers provided additional insights into the handling of the data and permitted the researcher's disengagement from the setting. This strategy allowed the researcher to discuss the progress of his work and the nature of the felt and documented experiences with his committee and qualified and interested peers.

From this period of reflection and consultation the researcher was able to uncover in the data five themes that could be addressed within two dimensions of meaning and to present findings in response to each of the research questions formulated for the study.

Findings of the Study

The general area of enquiry addressed in this study was formulated in the following research questions: During the period 1979-83,

1. What changes were perceived of the school's image?
2. What changes occurred within the external environment of the school?
3. What were the administrative behaviours provided to the school at different times and by different people?
4. What were the changes that occurred within the school?

The findings associated with each of these questions are summarized below.

Perceived Changes of the School's Image

Major changes in students', staff's, and others' perceptions of the school's image were identified from the data collected through interviews and the examination of historical survey documents, minutes

of meetings and media reports. The researcher in his analysis of the data concluded that a number of key elements were interactive during the process of cultural change that occurred at the school. The interactive elements of the cultural change during the period 1979-83 are portrayed in Figure 6.1. The figure indicates that two sets of initiatives were taken to bring about both physical and image-related improvements to the school. Data analysis revealed the bureaucratic and cultural initiatives originated from within the school or from within the School District.

The staff members', students', parents' and others' perceptions of the school at the end of the 1982-83 school year were reflected in the way in which the school's new image was designed, created, and managed as a developmental process during the three school years commencing September, 1979. The plan to change the school's image was presented to the staff in early 1979 in a way that attempted to orient attention away from the image that was current to a desired future state. While both school and School District personnel believed there to be direct relationships between the negative image of the school and (1) the demography of the inner city, and (2) the inappropriate leadership provided within the school during the late 1970s, no attempt was made by the principal to interpret the significance of the school's image. Rather, the school's new principal chose to define the school's goals as (1) to improve the school's environment, and (2) to increase students' and parents' levels of satisfaction with the school. The new principal's projection of these goals permitted him to orient the attention of others towards objectives that were both desired future states and possible to attain. Moreover, the inclusion of a self-

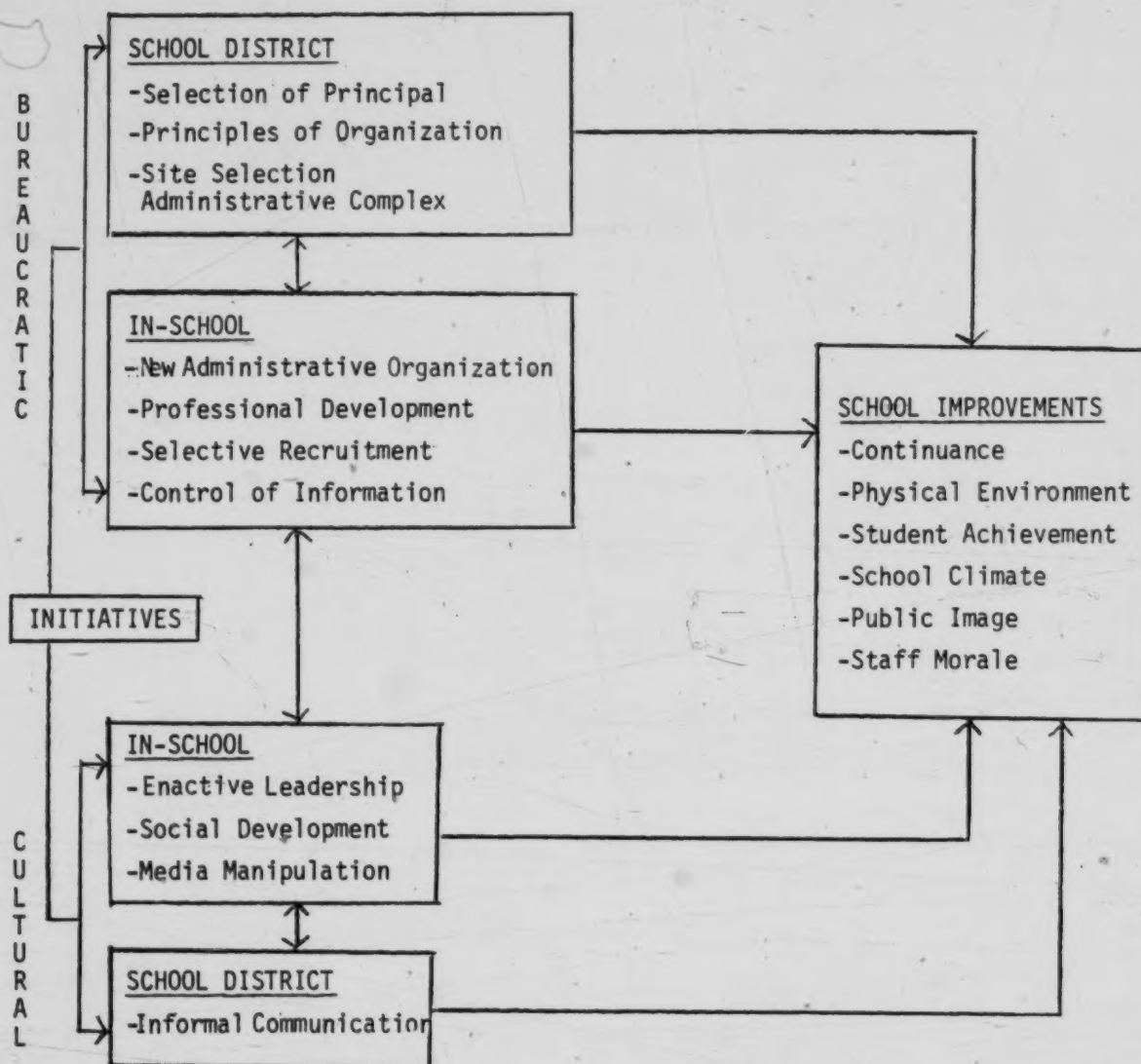


Figure 6.1

Interactive Elements of the Cultural Change

imposed time line of three years gave the initiatives that were taken to meet the goals the status of concrete events with an end point in time.

In this effort to change the image of the school, the new principal chose to interpret the school's needs, establish goals, and to adopt and implement the two sets of initiatives. These initiatives were identified by the researcher as belonging to either a bureaucratic or cultural dimension of meaning. While both sets of initiatives were observed to have been directed at the creation of a new meaning for the school among both participants and observers, the analysis of the data indicated that the principal tended to place a greater ongoing priority and emphasis on those initiatives identified by the researcher as belonging to the cultural dimension of meaning. These cultural initiatives were concerned with the improvement of both the social relationships within the school and the level of satisfaction expressed by staff, students and parents for the school's organization and operations.

Related to these efforts to create new meaning through the emphasis on cultural rather than bureaucratic initiatives, the principal chose to emphasize certain temporal (the three-year time line), perceptual (an improved environment), and interpersonal horizons (feelings of increased satisfaction among staff, students and parents). By choosing a future time horizon, he was able to achieve what Firestone and Wilson (1982) describe as "a perceptual space of tightness/closeness" to respond to the urgency, and an interpersonal horizon of togetherness and satisfaction as the means of creating new hope and meaning for both those participating in and those observing the school. The major

elements in the process used to create an image of school effectiveness at C.C.H.S. are portrayed in Figure 6.2.

External Environmental Changes

The second research question addressed in this study concerned the changes that occurred in the school's external environment. Three major elements of change in the school's external environment were identified: (1) the changing demography within the inner city; (2) the implementation of new administrative policies within the school district; and (3) the site selection for the Administrative Complex. These three elements and their relationship to the school's operations and image are shown in Figure 6.3 and discussed below.

Demographic change. The population of the inner city had declined steadily since the mid-1970s. Demographic data indicated that while the total population of the inner city declined by 12 percent, the population within the immediate feeder area surrounding the school declined by almost 15 percent. Further data showed that by 1979 the school's community had changed from a socio-economic environment dominated by nuclear families to a community characterized as being composed of single parent families and new immigrants from a host of third-world countries.

New administrative policies. In 1979 the school board commenced the implementation of a set of new administrative policies throughout the district. These policies, known as the Principles of Organization, were developed and directed toward improving school effectiveness through the decentralization of finances and decision making to decision units within the district. Each school was classified as a decision

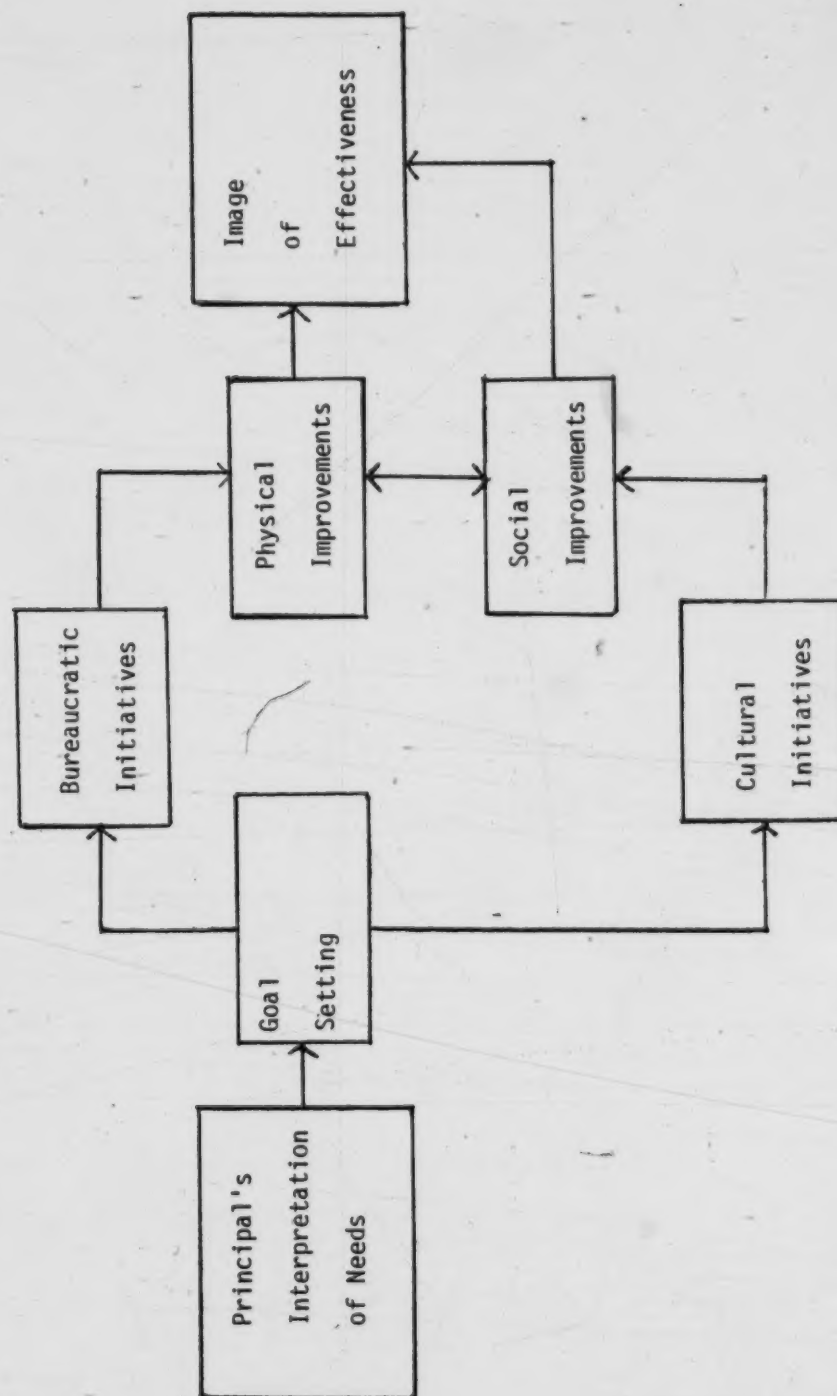


Figure 6.2

The Creation of an Image of School Effectiveness

unit. Decentralization allowed the staff of each school to develop its own goals and objectives, and to apply decentralized planning and resource assignment through an administrative process known as "School Based Budgeting" (S.B.B.). The data gathered in this study indicated that although most principals within the district supported decentralized decision making, two senior district administrators expressed their concern that few of the district's principals saw the relationship between the decentralization of resources, staff and student performances, and parents' level of satisfaction with the system of education offered in the district.

This concern was shared by the new principal. He acknowledged that while he believed that S.B.B. "was probably the best thing that ever happened to this school system," he was not very much impressed with the package known as the Principles of Organization. In fact, he said, "I can't remember what the 'four exclusives' were or are." However, when questioned further the new principal acknowledged that the organizational structure that he adopted was similar to one indicated in the Principles of Organization.

Site selection for the administrative complex. The decision to build the district's new administrative complex adjacent to C.C.H.S. was, in general, greeted by the school's staff as a sign that the school would be saved from closure. However, while the occurrence of the site selection in 1980 and the sod-turning ceremony in 1982 were acknowledged to have been of symbolic importance to the school's continuance, neither the school's principal nor others provided any indication that the building of the complex provided any specific indication as to the future direction of the school.

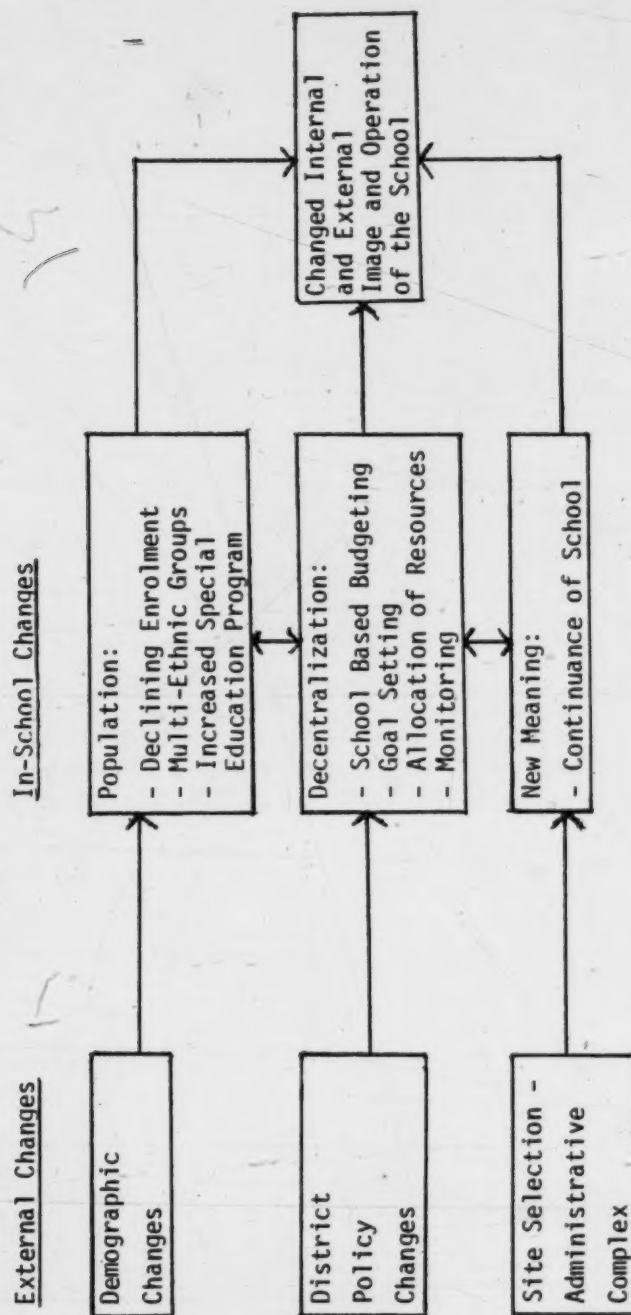


Figure 6.3
Relationships between the Elements of External Environmental Change and the Changed Internal and External School Image

Administrative Behaviours within the School

The relationship between the administrative behaviours and school improvements identified from the data are shown in Figure 6.4. Three sources of administrative behaviour were identified, (1) the principal's, (2) the assistant principals', and (3) the department heads'.

The principal. The dominant element identified from the data related to the theme of leadership. The improvements identified by the media, the survey data, and most of those interviewed, indicated that the principal's administrative behaviour was that of an enactive leader. A leader who, according to Weick and Daft (1983), created symbols of strength and purpose. Not all interviewees indicated that they liked the principal; however, they acknowledged that they respected him. Describing his own administrative behaviour, the new principal indicated that the organizational pattern he established was designed to encourage staff members to become more involved in the planning and decision making process within the school. The intent, he acknowledged, was to get staff involved with each other, with the development of new programs and procedures, and to develop esprit.

The assistant principals. The administrative behaviours of the school's assistant principals were shown to have two components, the implementor and innovator components. The implementor component of their administrative behaviours was related to the structuring and monitoring of the school's daily operations. One assistant principal noted that under the leadership of the new principal, the school's administration was no longer a committee but rather a group informed

about roles as implementors of decisions, decisions most often made by the principal. However, the feeling expressed by most of the school's assistant principals was that both the autocratic image and decision making role played by the new principal was conducive to the development of a sense of organization within the school.

The department heads. The administrative behaviour of department heads was indicated to be primarily that of implementors of decisions. Those interviewed noted that their role had changed from that of "resource persons" to "department managers." Interviewees gave similar examples of their management roles. They collectively indicated that the implementation of S.B.B. had added another dimension to their role and permitted them to take full responsibility and control of the use of the financial and other resources allocated to them by the school's administration.

While the major initiatives taken by department heads appeared to be related to the organization and operation of the formal aspects of their respective departments, there were indicators that innovative behaviour by department heads and other teachers was encouraged by the principal. The consensus among department heads was that people were given increased opportunity to become involved in decisions that affected the organization and operations of programs in the school. The researcher's own experiences as a past department head in the school provide support for the comments of his colleagues. On at least three occasions during the period 1979-83, the researcher was given the resources to initiate or to further develop both curricular and co-curricular activities within the school.

The data indicated that the support provided by the new principal

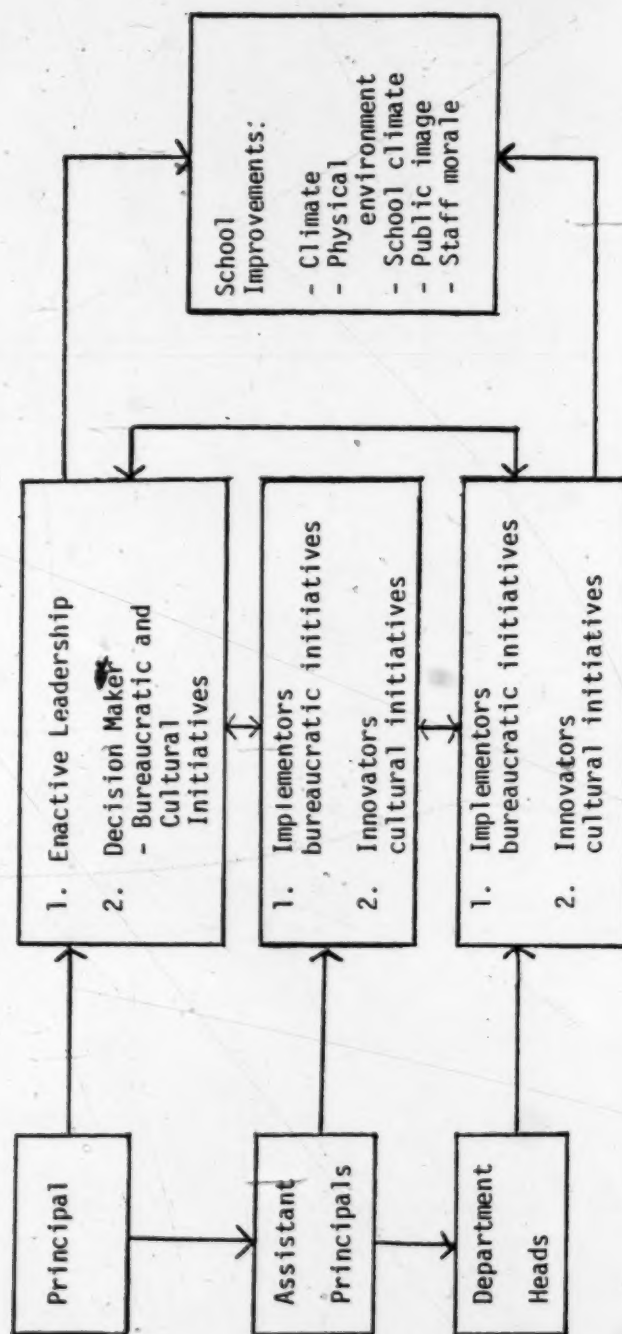


Figure 6.4

Administrative Behaviours and School Improvements

to staff who demonstrated innovative behaviours contributed to the development of a new sense of organization, a new sense of meaning to being a member of the staff at C.C.H.S.

Changes within the School

The changes that occurred within the school included improvements to the school's physical environment, students' levels of achievement, the school's climate, and students' and staff members' attitudes towards the school's continuance, its public image, and student and staff morale. These changes are identified as "school improvements" in Figure 6.1. Supporting evidence for these improvements and the initiatives that facilitated their attainment was provided from data obtained from media reports, from school and school district records and surveys, and from interviewees.

The findings of this study provide support for the notions suggested by Smircich and Morgan (1982) and Weick and Daft (1983) that cultural change within an organization, that is the development of a sense of organization, can be facilitated by the selection of a person who has the image, skills, and ability to be an "enactive leader" (Weick and Daft, 1983); that is, a leader who can shape and manage the meanings and actions of members within an organization.

A discussion of the findings is presented in the following section.

Discussion of the Findings

The discussion of the findings of this study is presented under three headings. The discussion under the first heading, "Antecedents and Consequences of the Enactive Leader Role," relates to the relation between the history, demography and visibility of C.C.H.S., the school's

new principal, and cultural change within the school. Under the second heading, "A Proposed Theory for Improving the Public Image of a School," the discussion relates to the relationship between the leadership behaviour of the school's principal, the interaction of administrators, staff, students, parents and community members, and changes to the school's image. The concluding discussion, "Leadership and the Management of Meaning," relates to how the principal of C.C.H.S. was able to frame and shape the meaning and actions of others.

Antecedents and Consequences of the Enactive Leader Role

The new principal's role is identified in this study as that of an "enactive leader," an authoritarian decision maker, a "figurehead," a leader whose "presence would rub off on kids, on staff," and increase the school's visibility. In presentation of the Interpretation Systems Model, Weick and Daft (1983:80) portray the enactive organization as one that engages in test-making strategies under the assumption that the organization's environment is subjective. Enactive organizations, they suggest, "experiment, test, stimulate, and ignore precedent, rules, and traditional expectations" in their efforts to make the organization more effective. The researcher has adopted the notion of "enactivity" as being an appropriate descriptor, not for the school but rather for the leadership style modeled by the new principal of C.C.H.S. The new principal's enactive style of leadership was characterized by his ability to create and use symbols to influence the behaviour of others.

Smith and Keith (1971:366) state that when one begins to change a society, an institution, or a school, the system interlinkages present an ever-increasing multiplicity of items open for change. This, they add, "poses the decision of the degree of change to be attempted." The

researcher's investigation at Central suggests that the decision taken was not directed to a specific degree of change, but rather to the nature and process of changes that would ensure the school's survival. The findings indicate that given the school's location, history and visibility, the district's appointment of a person capable of assuming the role of a strong-willed enactive leader initiated a process of cultural change that brought an inner-city high school from an image of internal and external depression toward an image of a more effective school. The antecedents and consequences of the role of the enactive leader are portrayed in Figure 6.5.

Commenting on the ability of some principals to create and use symbols, Firestone and Wilson (1984:8-10) suggest that symbols of a culture are the means used to carry its content and that a principal can shape the symbol system of a school in many ways. They add,

Culture creation is an important part of the principal's leadership responsibilities. . . . The principal must also attend to the symbolic significance of seemingly routine actions like the allocation of discretionary funds. . . . Perhaps most important, the principal has the central position in the professional communication network that can be used to communicate a consistent set of meanings throughout the school.

Recognizing the nature and ability levels of the school's population, the new principal concentrated both his time and the school's financial resources on the development of goals that would first increase the level of staff morale and the public image of the school, and then to the achievement of some of the more traditional indicators of school effectiveness including efforts to improve student achievement and attracting increased numbers of academically oriented students to the school.

The principal's emphasis on building staff morale and the school's

public image was not, however, without its detractors. It was evident from the responses of some interviewees that there were staff members who believed that increased emphasis should have been directed toward attracting more students to the school and improving student achievement. This group, comprised of one assistant principal and two teachers, is described in the study as the "subculture of dissatisfaction."

The changes identified in Figure 6.5 indicate that rather than detracting from the attainment of improved student performance and increased student numbers, the emphasis provided by the new principal to the attainment of those goals categorized by the researcher as the "cultural goals," achieved over the period of the study both the bureaucratic and the cultural symbols of success; that is, improved student achievement, a new public image, and improved staff morale.

A Proposed Theory for Improving the Public Image of a School

In a discussion of leadership in formalized settings, Smircich and Morgan (1982:259) state that the main distinguishing feature of formal organization relates to the way in which experience which is to be structured and defined is built into a stock of taken-for-granted meanings. This stock of meanings, they add, "underlies the everyday definition and reality of the organization." In this study the findings indicate that the leadership image of the school's new principal was interpreted by the school staff and others to be so powerful that there was the expectation that he had the right and obligation to make decisions, "right or wrong," and to define the reality of the school for others. However, as noted by Smircich and Morgan (1982:260),

Occupancy of an authority role presents the leader in every

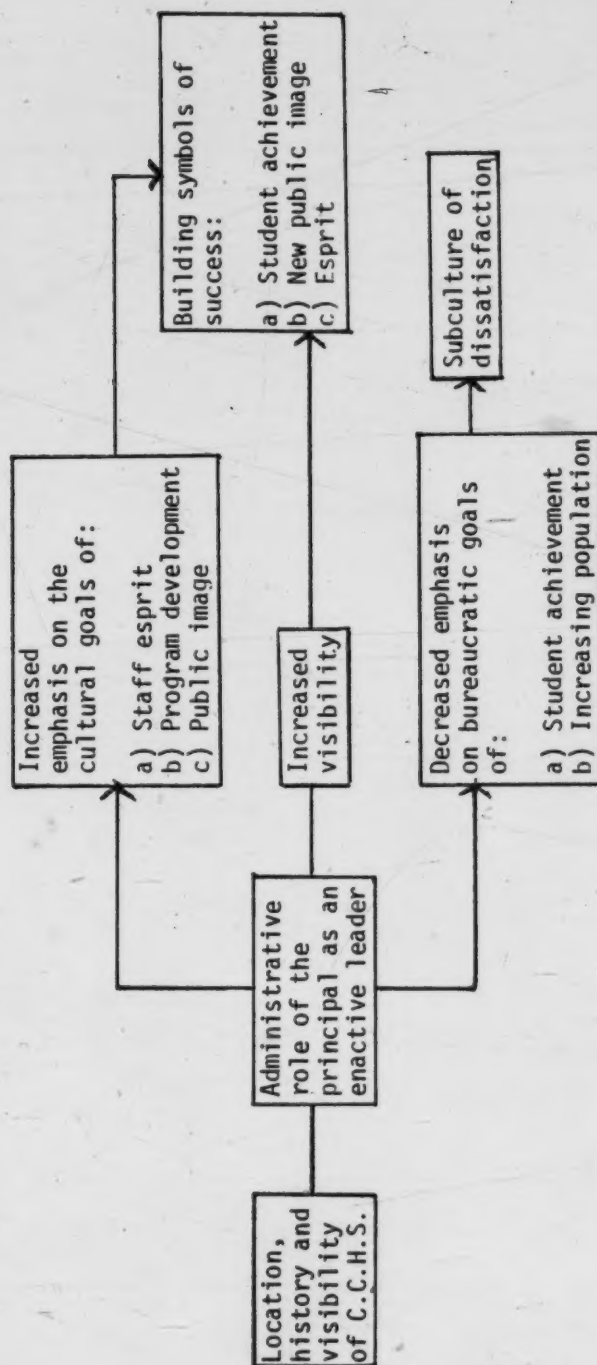


Figure 6.5

The Antecedents and Consequences of the Enactive Leader Role

situation with an existential dilemma--how to define and structure the element of organizational reality encountered at a given time.

Goertz (1971) points out that it may be fairly simple to describe the concrete actions that are present in an organizational situation. What is not so simple, suggest Firestone and Wilson (1985:24), "is identifying the meanings that are given to actions by the various participants." Those meanings help to determine, they add, "both the cultural and bureaucratic linkages in a school.

The use of an historical perspective in this study for the period 1979-83 allowed the researcher to examine the development of meaning through both the cultural and the bureaucratic dimensions of the changes that occurred within the school over an extended period of time. This perspective further allowed the researcher to uncover the different meanings held by participants and observers of the school prior to September, 1979, and throughout each of the succeeding school years to June, 1983. The interpretation and descriptions of past events that emerged in this study have facilitated the development of a proposed theory for improving the public image of a school. A model of the proposed theory is presented in Figure 6.6.

The theory (Figure 6.6) of improving the public image of a school proposed by the researcher can be stated as follows:

The principal of a school who adopts the role of an enactive leader may be able to shape the meanings held by others of the school by establishing priorities for resources available for different sets of initiatives. In certain situations increased resource allocations to cultural rather than to bureaucratic initiatives will result in increased interaction

between administration, staff, and students, and will, over time, result in improved levels of satisfaction for the school by staff, students and their parents. These improved levels of satisfaction are likely to generate an improved public image of a school.

The principal, as an enactive leader, was able to achieve his goals through the shaping of the meanings held by others by providing new symbols, images, and actions for others to interpret and model. Observations that related to the role of leaders to manage the meanings held by others are presented in the next section under the next heading, "Leadership and the Management of Meaning."

Leadership and the Management of Meaning

The phenomenon of organization is frequently linked to the practice of leadership. In leading, suggest Smircich and Morgan (1982:257), "managers enact a particular form of social reality with far-reaching but often poorly understood and appreciated consequences." A similar theme is addressed by Weick and Daft (1983:91) in their presentation of the Interpretation Systems Model. These latter authors suggest that the job of management is to interpret and

to make sense of things, to be aware of external events or cues, and to translate them into meaning for organizational participants. . . . They may improve their performance and, in turn, their subordinates' performance by adopting different interpretation strategies. . . . As a diagnostic tool of effectiveness, managers will need to monitor interpretations rather than outcomes. They will have to spend time learning the perceptions of participants in their organizations and how these participants use their own interpretation systems within the organizational context.

Similar references that relate the role of leadership to social interaction and the management of meaning are provided by Pettigrew

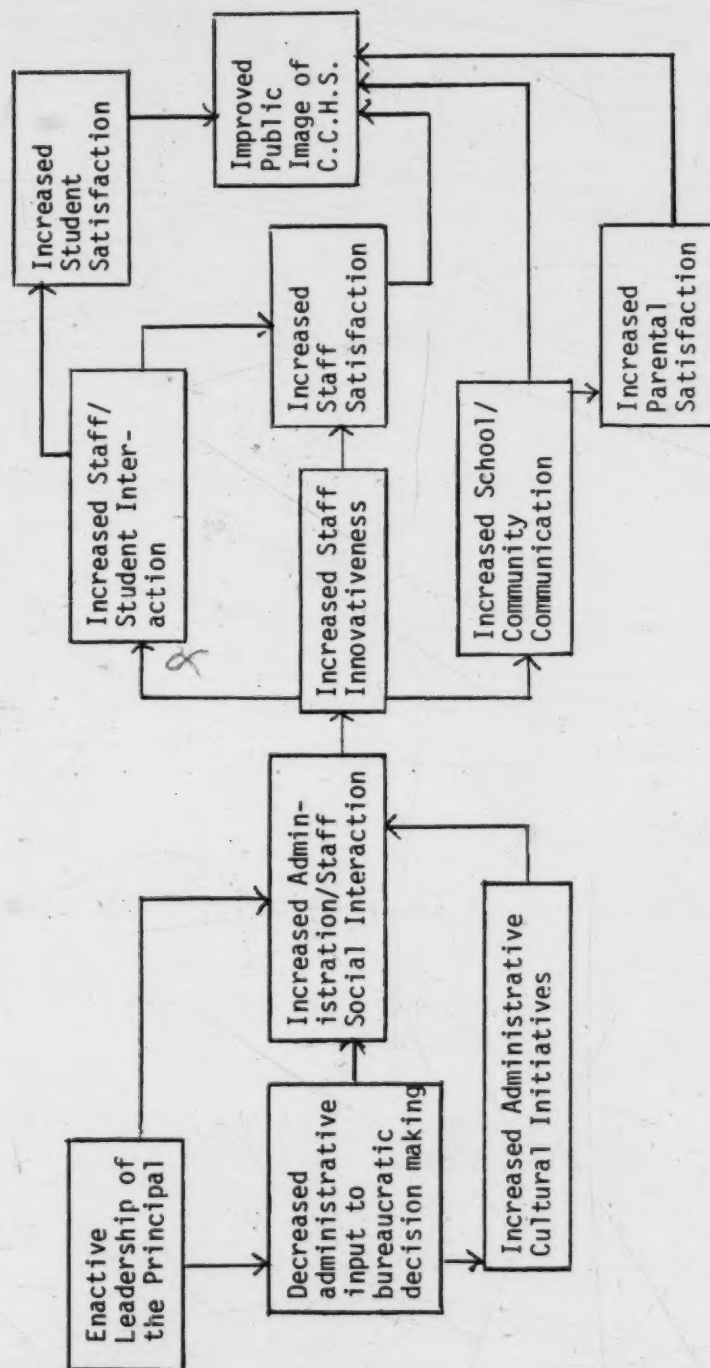


Figure 6.6

Model of a Proposed Theory for Improving the Public Image of a School

(1979), March (1980), Burns (1978), and Smircich (1983). In another study, Smircich and Morgan (1982:258-259) suggest that leadership lies in large part in generating a point of reference, against which a feeling of organization and direction can emerge. They continue,

While in certain circumstances the leader's image of reality may be hegemonic, as in the case of charismatic or totalitarian leaders who mesmerize their followers, this is by no means always the case. For the phenomenon of leadership in being interactive is by nature dialectical. It is shaped through the interaction of at least two points of reference, i.e., of leaders and of led.

A model of leadership is presented by Smircich and Morgan (1982:262) as "a figure-ground relationship which creates figure-ground relationships." A summary of the model is shown in Figure 6.7.

Framing Experience —————> Interpretation —————> Meaning and Action

Figure 6.7

Leadership: A Figure-Ground Relationship Which
Creates Figure-Ground Relationships

These authors suggest that

Leadership works by influencing the relationship between figure and ground, and hence the meaning and definition of the context as a whole. The actions and utterances of leaders guide the attention of those involved in a situation in ways that are consciously or unconsciously designed to shape the meaning of the situation. The actions and utterances draw attention to particular aspects of the overall flow of experience, transforming what may be complex and ambiguous into something more discrete and vested with a specific pattern of meaning. . . . The actions and utterances of leaders frame and shape the context of action in such a way that the members of that context are able to use the meaning thus created as a point of reference for their own action and understanding of the situation.

Imposing the figure-ground related leadership model (Smircich and Morgan, 1982) on the proposed theory for improving the public image of a

school, a simplified overview of the proposed theory may be stated as follows:

A principal who demonstrates enactive leadership behaviour in a school encourages similar enactive behaviour to be demonstrated by others.

A model of the simplified overview of the proposed theory is shown in Figure 6.8. The model suggests that enactive leadership in formal settings constitutes a process of facilitating interpretation, sense making, and enactment on the part of those participating or observing the setting and the enactive leadership behaviour. The process of interpretation, sense making, and enactment are, however, shaped (Smircich and Morgan, 1982:262) in important ways by the power relationship embedded in the situation, and the leader's action may generate a variety of interpretations that set the basis for meaningful action.

The implication of the model presented in Figure 6.8 is that leadership, and the organizational forms to which it gives rise, enact a reality that expresses a power relationship. In this study, the power of the new principal has been shown to have been derived both from the bureaucratic dimension, his formal appointment and authority as principal, and from the cultural dimension, the "presence" ascribed to him by most of his staff, students, and others. However, as noted by Smircich and Morgan (1982), and Firestone and Wilson (1985), and as indicated in this study, while a principal is well placed to affect changes to a school's culture, the process of cultural change is complex and ongoing.

The findings of this study are in agreement with a perspective

provided by Firestone and Wilson (1985:22) that the major task and challenge facing each principal is to develop a clear vision and purpose and to carry the vision through consistently in each school. This study

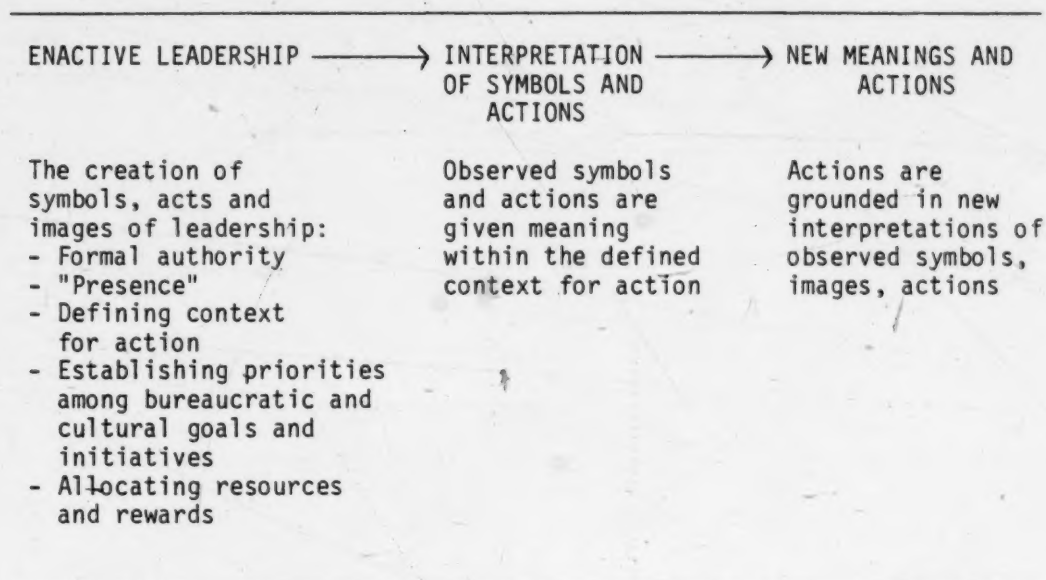


Figure 6.8

A Simplified Overview of a Proposed Theory for
Improving the Public Image of a School

has shown that the new principal of C.C.H.S., by using bureaucratic initiatives to create the formal structures and procedures for teachers, students and others to follow, minimized the chances for them to operate in different ways. At the same time, the new principal used cultural initiatives to communicate that vision so that, to a greater or lesser extent, the vision became part of the culture for those who used it to guide their own thoughts and actions.

Commenting on similar leadership behaviour in other organizational contexts, Smircich and Morgan (1982:263) indicate that the management of

meanings held by people within an organization is achieved through a leader's ability to use words, images, symbolic actions and gestures to structure attention and evoke patterns of meaning. The ability to manage meaning provides the leader with "considerable control over the situations being managed," that is the ability to attain a sense of organization among members within the organization.

Congruency has been indicated between the findings of this study and some recent literature. The following section of this chapter provides a more detailed examination of the congruency between the literature and the findings of this study.

The Literature Revisited

In an inductive study such as this, it is essential that literature be revisited once the data collection phase has been completed and themes have emerged in order to ascertain if the findings of the study are congruent with the current literature and research on effective schools. Glaser (1978:32) recommends leaving the review of the literature until the data collection phase is nearing completion; however, many researchers enter the field with a greater degree of confidence and comfort if they have some knowledge of the writings in the area before commencing the field research phase of the study.

For the present study, the researcher, desiring to attain a degree of confidence prior to commencing the field research phase of his study, reviewed the literature relating to organizational effectiveness, research on effective schools, leadership, and organizational culture. Subsequent to the collection and analysis of the data, the literature was revisited. The researcher's review of the literature in the light of the findings of this study is presented in the following section of

this chapter.

Prior to the field research phase, as well as upon revisiting the literature, it was apparent to the researcher that although a considerable amount of literature had been written about effective schools, many writers continued to express the need for additional research that would provide a focus on "thick descriptions of what life is like in schools, and how principals create or maintain some order and direction in that life" (Firestone and Wilson, 1985:23).

A recent body of literature on how a sense of organization is attained in schools appears to be congruent with the findings of this study. In particular, the writings of Smircich (1982), Cusick (1981), Smircich and Morgan (1982), and Firestone and Wilson (1984 and 1985) appear to indicate that an holistic, cultural perspective is necessary in order to engage in research into how schools and other organizations attain improved levels of effectiveness. The researcher's interpretation that the elements uncovered during this study could be categorized into one of two dimensions of meaning, the bureaucratic or the cultural dimension, is perceived by the researcher to be similarly congruent with the ideas expressed by Ransom et al. (1980). These authors (Ransom et al., 1983:14) note that from the integration of conceptual categories such as the province of meaning, power relationships, and contextual constraints, a micro-level focus was possible on (1) the intersubjective construction of meanings, (2) the analysis of the regularities within an organization's structure, and (3) the broader socio-historical perspectives of the organization's economy and culture. "Each is necessary," they add, "to an adequate understanding of organizational construction and change."

Controversy coupled with uncertainty continues to pervade much of the literature on school effectiveness. The findings of this study indicate that even within a single school the construct of effectiveness has different meanings for different people. Despite the high levels of satisfaction indicated in surveys and media reports by staff, students, parents, and others for the changed operations and image of the school, a group identified in this study as "the subculture of dissatisfaction" obviously held an alternative meaning of what an effective school is. Addressing this topic, Firestone and Wilson (1984 and 1985) appear to be in agreement with Smircich and Morgan (1982:262) that organized situations are often characterized by complex patterns of meaning based on rival interpretations of the situation.

When discussing the use of an interpretations systems model for the investigation of organizational effectiveness, Weick and Daft (1983:28) present the position that when treating an organization's environment as enacted or projected, "unless something is attended to, it does not exist." Cameron (1984), addressing the use of the model, notes that individual and group perceptions and preferences are not stable; changes occur as organizations progress. While Cameron (1984) casts some doubt upon the use of interpretive models for organizational research, the findings of this study indicate that a research approach that utilizes an interpretive focus can provide an holistic picture of how "new cultures" (Pettigrew, 1979) are developed over time. In addition, the interpretive approach used in this study may increase readers' understanding of the processes by which a specific form of leadership, enactive leadership, gave energy, purpose, and new meanings to participants within an inner-city high school.

The use of the Interpretation Systems Model to investigate organization effectiveness (Weick and Daft, 1983) provided the researcher with an opportunity to utilize an holistic, cultural approach to the investigation of the inner-city high school. The findings of this study are seen to be congruent with propositions suggested in the model that relate to enactive-type organizations: (1) that organizational effectiveness does not relate solely to the traditional organizational variables of structure and technology, but rather to the management of meaning within an organization; (2) that the role of an organizational leader is to make sense out of things and to be aware of external events or cues and to translate them into meaning for organizational participants; and (3) that a school principal who adopts an enactive style of leadership provides both a role model of desirable organizational behaviour and support for organizational members who adopt a new set of meanings about themselves and their working environment.

The final two sections of this thesis contain implications of the study's findings for school districts and recommendations for further research.

Implications for School Districts

The findings of this study are congruent with the position stated by Tichy and Ulrich (1982:18) that

the successful leaders, in business or in a school, articulate new values or goals to meet changed environments. They use . . . role modelling, symbolic acts, the creation of rituals, the revamping of human resources systems, and the management process system (to achieve their stated values and goals).

The problematic task that faces school district administrators is, however, (1) to identify the nature of the existing culture of each

school or decision unit in the district; (2) to identify the desired characteristics of each school or decision unit; and (3) to appoint a principal or decision unit leader appropriate for the "context for action" (Smircich and Morgan, 1982); in the present study, this was the school's culture.

In this context, school district administrators may wish to consider the development of an administrative process similar to the Principles of Organization (Appendix 2), and involve staff, students, parents and others in annual assessments of the effectiveness of each school and decision unit in the district.

Recommendations for Further Research

This and other studies that have attempted to view each school from a cultural perspective have encountered the dilemma of having to organize a vast constellation of data that represents the dynamic interplay between the various participants, activities, and events uncovered during the investigation of an organization's culture; in this study, the total school setting. The need for this holistic approach, as Purkey and Smith (1982:428) suggest, is that "no single element of school effectiveness can be considered in isolation from all the others or from the total situation in which it is found." However, the findings of this study show that the leadership behaviour of a school's principal is a vital element in bringing a sense of organization to a school.

Based on a major conclusion of this study, that

A principal who demonstrates enactive leadership behaviour in a school encourages similar enactive behaviours to be demonstrated by others,

the following research questions are recommended to provide further insights and perspectives of how effective schools became effective.

1. How is the leadership role performed in other schools identified as being "effective schools"?

2. How do leaders of effective schools manage the cultural and bureaucratic dimensions of meaning and action within their respective schools?

3. Are the characteristics of leadership identified from this study present among leaders of other schools?

4. Can support for the proposed theory be identified through similar studies of other schools?

The findings emanating from this research provide further insights into the process by which an organization, an inner-city high school, attained the image of an effective school. The cultural approach used in this study may have illuminated an aspect of leadership not previously developed in educational organizations. In the future, researchers investigating organizational effectiveness from a cultural perspective may wish to investigate how organizational leaders, by their own actions, set specific cultural tones within organizations.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Interview Guides

INTERVIEW GUIDE - Teachers

1. Extent of association:
 - (a) With the school
 - (b) School system
2. Thoughts concerning the school prior to the 1979-80 school years.
3. Significance of the 1979-80 school year.
4. The process of selecting a new principal for the school in 1978-79:
 - (a) Recollections
 - (b) Involvement in selection process
5. A new principal was appointed for the 1979-80 school year.
Recollections of change during 1979-80:
 - (a) Major changes
 - (b) Minor changes
6. The school's image prior to 1978-79.
7. The school's change in subsequent years.
8. The atmosphere of the school in the late 1970s.
9. The atmosphere of the school in subsequent years:
1979-80; 1980-81; 1981-82; 1982-83.
10. Recollections of events or activities that relate to the changes in the school.
11. Thoughts about:
 - (a) Principles of Organization
 - (b) School based budgeting - 1979
 - (c) District/School surveys - 1979
 - (d) The administration of the school
 - (e) The administrative complex
12. Other thoughts or recollections.

INTERVIEW GUIDE - Department Heads

1. Time at school.
2. Time as Department Head. Subject Area.
3. Recollections of Pre-1979.
4. Recollections of 1979-80 school year:
 - (a) Significant events in the school
 - (b) Significant events in your Department
5. Significant changes in school during the period 1979-83.
6. Significant changes in your Department's organization and operations during the period 1979-83.
7. Describe the leadership of the school during the period.
8. Describe the image of the school.
9. Describe the district administration's influence on the school.
10. Describe the school's image during the period.
11. Describe the staff relationships.
12. Describe changes in student achievement.
13. Describe the program changes in your Department.
14. Describe teaching changes in your Department.

INTERVIEW GUIDE - School Administrators

1. Position at school.
2. First appointment as administrator.
3. Time at school.
4. Time teaching.
5. Thoughts about the school prior to the start of the 1979-80 school year.
6. Thoughts about the school after 1979-80 school year.
7. Thoughts about the appointment of the new principal.
8. Description of the administrative organization during the period 1979-83.
9. Major changes in the school. Timelines:
10. Factors contributing to change.
11. Describe the school's image change during the period 1979-83
12. What are the Principles of Organization?
13. Thoughts concerning the selection of the site for the new administrative complex.
14. Key people involved in the school.
15. Describe the image of the school during the period 1979-83.
16. Factors that contributed to the changed image of the school.
17. Thoughts concerning the district's administrative organization.

INTERVIEW GUIDE - District Administrators

1. Distinguishing characteristics of inner city schools.
2. Earliest recollections about C.C.H.S.
3. Reflections about the school during the late 1970s.
4. Reflections subsequent to the appointment of a new principal in 1979.
5. Changes observed within the school.
6. Most significant changes that occurred since 1979-80 school year.
7. The impetus for change in the school.
8. The key actors (leaders) both within and outside the school.
9. Description of the school during each of the school years between 1979-83
10. District initiatives during the period 1979-83.
11. Effects of district initiatives on the school:
 - (a) Principles of Organization
 - (b) Administrative complex
 - (c) School based budgeting
 - (d) District surveys

INTERVIEW GUIDE - Community Members

1. Earliest involvement with the school.
2. Nature of involvement:
 - a) Parent
 - b) Alumnus
3. Other community involvements.
4. Earliest recollections of the school.
5. Recollections of the school in the late 1970s.
6. Recollections about the appointment of new principal.
7. Describe the changes that occurred within the school during the period 1979-83:
 - (a) People
 - (b) Climate
 - (c) Organization
8. Describe the image of the school during the late 1970s.
9. Describe the changes in the school's image during the school years 1979-83.
10. Factors that may have contributed to these changes during the period.
11. Recollections of changes within the inner city during this period.
12. Recollections of changes within the school district during this period.

APPENDIX II

The Principles of Organization

MANAGEMENT IS A MEANS TO AN END, NOT AN END IN ITSELF. CONCENTRATION ON MANAGEMENT CONCERNS IS DESIGNED TO SIGNIFICANTLY IMPROVE THE ADMINISTRATIVE FRAMEWORK OF OUR SYSTEM SO THAT PEOPLE, WORKING TOGETHER, CAN CONCENTRATE THEIR ENERGIES ON ADDRESSING EDUCATIONAL CONCERNS; NOT DISSIPATE THEIR ENERGIES OVERCOMING ADMINISTRATIVE FRICTION AND OBSTACLES. SUCH FRICTIONS AND OBSTACLES OCCUR WHEN "KEY ELEMENTS" ARE DESIGNED OR CHANGED AS THOUGH THEY ARE NOT AN INTERDEPENDENT PART OF AN INTEGRATED WHOLE.

KEY ELEMENTS

1. INSTITUTIONAL PURPOSES
2. ORGANIZATION
3. ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES
4. POLICY FORMULATION
5. OBJECTIVE SETTING
6. PROGRAM PLANNING
7. BUDGETING
8. INFORMATION SYSTEM
(INCLUDING MONITORING SYSTEMS)
9. FINANCIAL ACCOUNTING AND REPORTING SYSTEM
10. EVALUATION
11. PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT
12. PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION

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EXPLANATORY NOTES: KEY ELEMENTS

THE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM IN A PUBLIC INSTITUTION SUCH AS OURS IS COMPOSED OF A NUMBER OF INTERDEPENDENT ELEMENTS, ALL OF WHICH HAVE TO BE COMPATIBLE IF THE SYSTEM IS TO OPERATE EFFECTIVELY:

1. INSTITUTIONAL PURPOSES

IDENTIFIES CRITICAL AREAS WITHIN WHICH STANDARDS AND OBJECTIVES OUGHT TO BE SET. IF RESULTS ARE ACCEPTABLE IN ALL THESE CRITICAL AREAS, THE DISTRICT IS PERFORMING SATISFACTORILY.

2. ORGANIZATION

INTENDED ONLY TO COMMUNICATE ONE PIECE OF INFORMATION: "WHO REPORTS TO WHOM." A POOR ORGANIZATION CAN HINDER. A GOOD ORGANIZATION CAN HELP PEOPLE GET THEIR JOBS DONE. ORGANIZATION IS A MEANS TO AN END, NOT AN END IN ITSELF. THE END IS THE PERFORMANCE OF PEOPLE.

3. ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITY STATEMENTS

EVERYBODY IN THE ORGANIZATION NEEDS TO KNOW "WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR WHAT TYPE OF RESULTS." DIFFERENT FROM JOB DESCRIPTIONS, WHICH MERELY DESCRIBE HOW JOBS ARE TO BE PERFORMED, IN THAT THEY DEFINE THOSE AREAS IN WHICH THE INCUMBENT IS ACCOUNTABLE FOR RESULTS.

4. POLICY FORMULATION

PROPOSED DEFINITION OF A SCHOOL BOARD POLICY:
"A STATEMENT OR A COURSE-SETTING DECISION MADE BY THE BOARD TO DETERMINE THE FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH PEOPLE CAN ACHIEVE RESULTS THAT SERVE THE INTERESTS OF THE PUBLIC."
ALL POLICIES MUST: REFLECT THE BELIEFS OR COMMITMENTS OF THE BOARD ABOUT THE DIRECTION IN WHICH IT WANTS THE DISTRICT TO GO; BY THEIR PRESENCE, CAUSE A SIGNIFICANT CHANGE OR DIFFERENCE FROM CURRENT PRACTICE; INCLUDE ONLY DECISIONS THAT ARE OF CRITICAL OR MAJOR IMPORTANCE TO THE DISTRICT.

5. OBJECTIVE SETTING

IN ITS GENERIC SENSE, INCLUDES SETTING GOALS AND STANDARDS. SHOULD CULMINATE IN A DESCRIPTION OF THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF NEEDED RESULTS FOR THE INSTITUTION TO PERFORM SUCCESSFULLY.

6. PROGRAM PLANNING

THIS IS SIMPLY THE PLANS WHICH PEOPLE MAKE AT ALL LEVELS OF THE INSTITUTION FOR REACHING THEIR OBJECTIVES.

7. RESOURCE ALLOCATION AND BUDGETING

THE PROCESS BY WHICH RESOURCES ARE PROVIDED TO SUPPORT PLANS DEFINED TO ACCOMPLISH OBJECTIVES.

8. INFORMATION SYSTEM

PROVIDES PEOPLE WITH THE INFORMATION THEY NEED TO SET OBJECTIVES, PREPARE PLANS, OPERATE SUCCESSFULLY, AND MONITOR AND EVALUATE PERFORMANCE. THIS INCLUDES THE MONITORING SYSTEMS WHICH DESCRIBE RESULTS IN THE AREAS DEFINED BY INSTITUTIONAL PURPOSES.

9. FINANCIAL ACCOUNTING AND REPORTING SYSTEM

A SYSTEM THAT PROVIDES TIMELY, ACCURATE SUMMARY INFORMATION TO ENABLE PEOPLE AT ALL LEVELS TO MANAGE THE FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF THEIR PROGRAMS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR APPROVED BUDGETS.

10. EVALUATION

USES INFORMATION TO FORM JUDGEMENT ABOUT PERFORMANCE; BOTH PROCESS AND ADEQUACY OF RESULTS. THE PRIME PURPOSE OF EVALUATION IS TO IMPROVE FUTURE PERFORMANCE.

11. TRAINED AND QUALIFIED PEOPLE

SELECTING THE RIGHT PEOPLE AND IMPROVING AND MAINTAINING THEIR CAPABILITIES TO ACHIEVE THE PURPOSES OF THE DISTRICT IN THE SCHOOLS.

12. PROPOSITIONS

A SET OF BELIEFS AND GUIDELINES FOR CONDUCTING THE OPERATION OF AN ORGANIZATION.

PURPOSES

TO MANAGE THE PROGRAM AND AFFAIRS OF THE . . . PUBLIC
SCHOOLS SO THAT:

STUDENTS ACHIEVE A LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE
AND SKILLS CONSISTENT WITH THEIR ABILITIES.

AND

STUDENTS COMPLETE THEIR COURSES OF STUDY,
REACHING OR SURPASSING THE DISTRICT'S
ACHIEVEMENT STANDARDS,

AND

STUDENTS CONTINUE THEIR EDUCATION AND/OR
ENTER A PRODUCTIVE OCCUPATION UPON
COMPLETION OF STUDIES,

AND

STUDENTS DEVELOP POSITIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD
SELF, OTHERS, SCHOOL AND EDUCATION,

AND

THE COMMUNITY FEELS THE DISTRICT IS PERFORMING
SATISFACTORILY,

AND

THE EMPLOYEES FEEL THE DISTRICT IS A GOOD
PLACE IN WHICH TO WORK,

AND

THE PHYSICAL ASSETS OF THE DISTRICT ARE
ADEQUATELY MAINTAINED,

AND

THE DISTRICT'S FINANCES ARE CONTROLLED.

PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION

- A.** THERE ARE GENERALLY MULTIPLE CRITERIA, WHICH ARE FREQUENTLY CONFLICTING, THAT NEED TO BE CONSIDERED WHEN MAKING AND CARRYING OUT DECISIONS.

FOR THIS SCHOOL SYSTEM, MAJOR CRITERIA THAT SHOULD ALWAYS BE CONSIDERED ARE THE PURPOSES OF THE DISTRICT.

- B.** EVERY INDIVIDUAL IN THE ORGANIZATION SHOULD KNOW WHAT TYPES OF RESULTS HE/SHE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR.

INSOFAR AS POSSIBLE, BOTH OBJECTIVES AND EVALUATION SHOULD BE FOCUSED UPON THOSE RESULTS.

- C.** EVERY INDIVIDUAL IN THE ORGANIZATION SHOULD HAVE ONLY ONE SUPERVISOR.

THERE SHOULD BE MANY PLACES AND PERSONS FROM WHICH AN INDIVIDUAL CAN SEEK ADVICE, GUIDANCE AND ASSISTANCE, BUT NO ONE OTHER THAN HIS/HER DIRECT SUPERVISOR SHOULD NORMALLY HAVE THE AUTHORITY TO SET OBJECTIVES, ALLOCATE RESOURCES, AND DIRECT, VETO OR EVALUATE HIS/HER PERFORMANCE.

CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION SHOULD BE KEPT AS FREE AND OPEN AS POSSIBLE; ANY PERSON IN ANY PART AND AT ANY LEVEL OF THE ORGANIZATION SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO GO DIRECTLY TO ANY OTHER PART OR PERSON IN THE ORGANIZATION FOR INFORMATION OR ASSISTANCE NEEDED TO PERFORM HIS/HER JOB: "GOING THROUGH CHANNELS" IN THE RESTRICTIVE SENSE, IS APPLICABLE ONLY TO SITUATIONS INVOLVING DIRECTIONS, APPROVALS OR VETOES.

- D.** AUTHORITY CAN BE DELEGATED: RESPONSIBILITY CANNOT.

EXPRESSED IN ANOTHER WAY — DELEGATION DOES NOT DIMINISH THE RESPONSIBILITY THE DELEGATOR HAD PRIOR TO THE DELEGATION IN ANY WAY.

- E.** NO ONE SHOULD HAVE THE AUTHORITY TO DIRECT OR VETO ANY DECISIONS OR ACTIONS WHERE HE/SHE IS NOT ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE RESULTS.

THE PROPOSITION SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED TO MEAN A PERSON RESPONSIBLE FOR RESULTS CANNOT BE DIRECTED OR VETOED. HIS/HER SUPERVISOR (OR THE SUPERVISOR'S SUPERVISOR, OR THE ...) ARE ALSO ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE RESULTS, AND ARE THEREFORE NOT BARRED FROM DIRECTING OR VETOING.

- F.** THE ORGANIZATION SHOULD AVOID UNIFORM RULES/PRACTICES/POLICIES/REGULATIONS WHICH ARE DESIGNED TO PROTECT THE ORGANIZATION AGAINST "MISTAKES". SUCH RULES/ ... TEND TO BE DESIGNED WITH THE LEAST COMPETENT INDIVIDUALS IN MIND, AND THEIR UNIFORM APPLICATION WILL TEND TO FORCE ALL INDIVIDUALS TO PERFORM UNIFORMLY AT THE LOWEST COMMON LEVEL OF COMPETENCE.

INDIVIDUALS WITH SIMILAR POSITIONS NEED NOT HAVE SIMILAR DEGREES OF AUTHORITY. DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY CAN BE INDIVIDUALIZED TO MATCH DIFFERING ABILITIES TO HANDLE RESPONSIBILITIES.

- G.** EACH MEMBER OF THE LEADERSHIP TEAM MUST PROMOTE AND MAINTAIN A STRONG RELATIONSHIP OF MUTUAL TRUST, CONFIDENCE AND RESPECT AMONG ALL MEMBERS OF THE INSTITUTION.

EACH MEMBER OF THE LEADERSHIP TEAM HAS AN OBLIGATION TO ACTIVELY PURSUE THE FOREGOING OBJECTIVE WITH RESPECT TO ALL EMPLOYEES UNDER HIS/HER SUPERVISION.

EITHER UNWILLINGNESS OR INABILITY TO DO SO SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT CAUSE FOR REMOVAL FROM THE LEADERSHIP TEAM.

- H.** EVERY INDIVIDUAL IN THE ORGANIZATION MUST STRIVE TOWARD ABSOLUTE INTEGRITY IN HIS/HER RELATIONSHIPS WITH ALL OTHERS, BOTH WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE ORGANIZATION. WE MUST NOT KNOWINGLY OR CARELESSLY, BY OMISSION OR COMMISSION, MISINFORM OR MISLEAD, WITHHOLD INFORMATION WHICH SHOULD BE DISCLOSED, OR DO ANYTHING ELSE TO CAUSE DOUBTS UPON THE HONESTY, INTEGRITY OR MOTIVES OF THE ORGANIZATION OR ANY OF ITS INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS.

AUG. 13/80

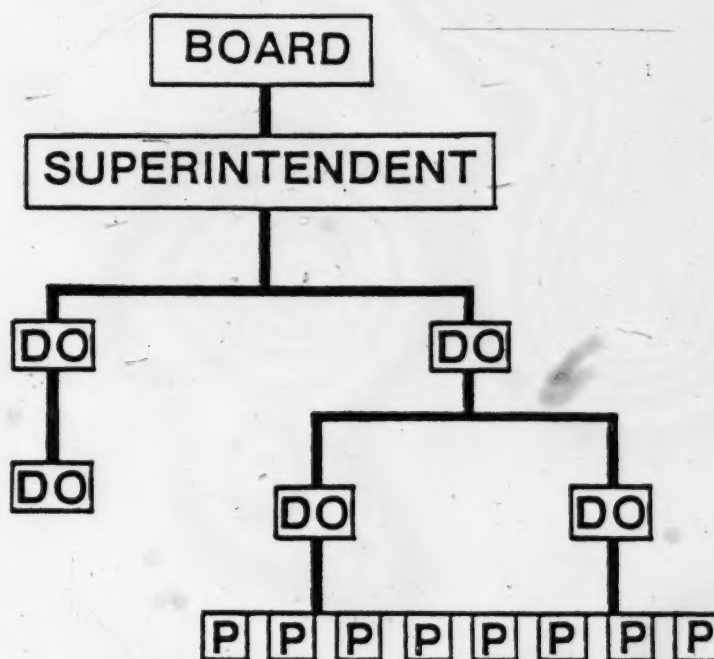
SUPERVISOR - SUBORDINATE RELATIONSHIPS

THE FOUR EXCLUSIVES:

1. SETTING OBJECTIVES
2. ALLOCATING RESOURCES
3. DIRECTING AND VETOING ACTIONS OR DECISIONS
4. EVALUATING PERFORMANCE

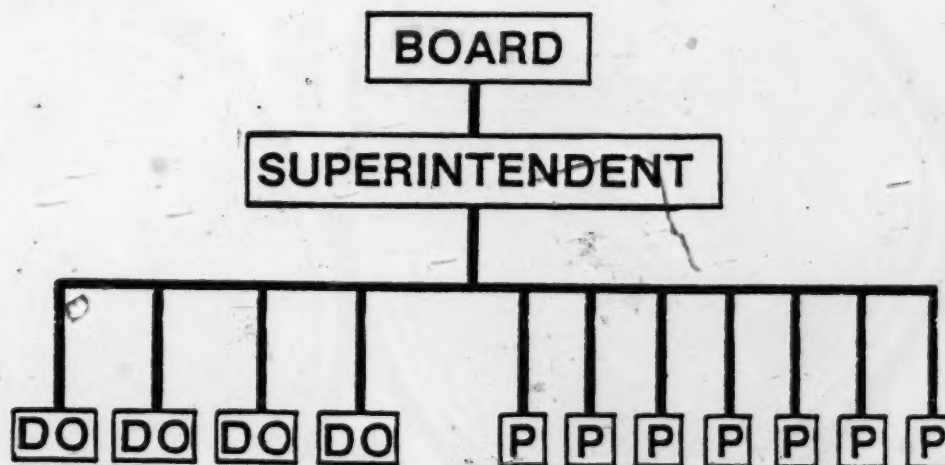
SPAN OF CONTROL:

1. THE QUALITY OF PERFORMANCE OF THE SUPERVISOR
2. THE QUALITY OF PERFORMANCE OF THE SUBORDINATES
3. THE NUMBER AND DIVERSITY OF DIFFERENT
FUNCTIONS PERFORMED BY SUBORDINATES
4. THE MEASURABILITY OF RESULTS EXPECTED
FROM SUBORDINATES
5. OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES (OR DISTRACTIONS)
OF THE SUPERVISOR



DO - DISTRICT OFFICE PERSON

P - PRINCIPALS



DRAFT

ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITY
STATEMENT
FOR
SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

FOR THE DISTRICT, THE SUPERINTENDENT SHALL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR:

1. THE CONDUCT AND OUTCOME OF ALL PROGRAMS BOTH CURRICULAR AND CO-CURRICULAR.
2. THE EVALUATION OF AND REPORTING ON STUDENT DEVELOPMENT.
3. THE ATTITUDE OF STUDENTS TOWARD SELF, OTHERS, SCHOOL AND EDUCATION.
4. THE SAFETY, WELFARE AND CONDUCT OF STUDENTS WHILE PARTICIPATING IN SCHOOL PROGRAMS OR ON THEIR WAY TO OR FROM SCHOOL ON TRANSPORTATION PROVIDED BY THE DISTRICT.
5. THE ATTITUDE OF EMPLOYEES TOWARD THE STUDENTS AND THE PARENTS, TOWARD OTHER EMPLOYEES, THE SCHOOLS, THE DISTRICT AND ITS PROGRAMS.
6. THE SELECTION, ASSIGNMENT, TRAINING, PERFORMANCE, PROFESSIONAL GROWTH AND ADVANCEMENT, EVALUATION, RETENTION, TRANSFER, PROMOTION, REPRIMAND, DEMOTION AND SEPARATION OF ALL STAFF.
7. THE ATTITUDE OF THE PARENTS AND THE COMMUNITY TOWARD THE SCHOOLS, THE DISTRICT AND ITS PROGRAMS.
8. THE CONDITION OF THE PHYSICAL ASSETS: THESE SHALL INCLUDE THE NEATNESS AND CLEANLINESS OF THE BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS AND THE SAFETY, SECURITY AND STATE OF MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR OF THE BUILDINGS, GROUNDS, FURNISHINGS AND EQUIPMENT
9. THE ACCOMMODATION AND DISTRICT TRANSPORTATION OF PUPILS.
10. THE PLANNING AND CONTROL OF THE EXPENDITURE OF ALL FUNDS.
11. THE NEGOTIATION OF CONTRACTS WITH ALL ORGANIZED EMPLOYEE GROUPS AND THE ARRANGEMENT OF SALARIES AND WORKING CONDITIONS OF ALL OTHER DISTRICT EMPLOYEES.
12. SUCH ADDITIONAL DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS MANDATED BY THE BOARD.
13. THE PERFORMANCE OF ALL DUTIES IN ACCORDANCE WITH LAW AND BOARD POLICY.

JANUARY 26, 1982

ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITY
STATEMENT
FOR
ASSOCIATE SUPERINTENDENT
OF SCHOOLS

DRAFT

FOR THE AREA, THE ASSOCIATE SUPERINTENDENT SHALL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR:

1. THE CONDUCT AND OUTCOME OF ALL PROGRAMS BOTH CURRICULAR AND CO-CURRICULAR.
2. THE EVALUATION OF AND REPORTING ON STUDENT DEVELOPMENT.
3. THE ATTITUDE OF STUDENTS TOWARD SELF, OTHERS, SCHOOL AND EDUCATION.
4. THE SAFETY, WELFARE AND CONDUCT OF STUDENTS WHILE PARTICIPATING IN SCHOOL PROGRAMS OR ON THEIR WAY TO OR FROM SCHOOL ON TRANSPORTATION PROVIDED BY THE DISTRICT.
5. THE ATTITUDE OF EMPLOYEES TOWARD THE STUDENTS AND THE PARENTS, TOWARD OTHER EMPLOYEES, THE SCHOOLS, THE DISTRICT AND ITS PROGRAMS.
6. THE SELECTION, ASSIGNMENT, TRAINING, PERFORMANCE, PROFESSIONAL GROWTH AND ADVANCEMENT, EVALUATION, RETENTION, TRANSFER, PROMOTION, REPRIMAND, DEMOTION AND SEPARATION OF ALL STAFF. INVOLVEMENT IN THE SELECTION PROCESS MAY ON OCCASION BE RESTRICTED BY THE ASSIGNMENT OF STAFF WHOM THE DISTRICT HAS A LEGAL OBLIGATION TO EMPLOY.
7. THE ATTITUDE OF THE PARENTS AND THE COMMUNITY TOWARD THE SCHOOLS, THE DISTRICT AND ITS PROGRAMS.
8. THE CONDITION OF THE PHYSICAL ASSETS: THESE SHALL INCLUDE THE NEATNESS AND CLEANLINESS OF THE BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS AND THE SAFETY, SECURITY AND STATE OF MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR OF THE BUILDINGS, GROUNDS, FURNISHINGS AND EQUIPMENT, EXCEPT TO THE EXTENT THAT RESPONSIBILITY HAS BEEN ASSIGNED TO A DEPARTMENT OF THE DISTRICT.
9. THE ACCOMMODATION AND DISTRICT TRANSPORTATION OF PUPILS.
10. THE PLANNING AND CONTROL OF THE EXPENDITURE OF ALL ALLOCATED FUNDS, AND THOSE GENERATED BY THE SCHOOLS.
11. SUCH ADDITIONAL DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS AS ARE ASSIGNED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS.
12. THE PERFORMANCE OF ALL DUTIES WITHIN THE CONSTRAINTS OF LAW, DISTRICT POLICY AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIRECTIVES.

JANUARY 26, 1982

ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITY
STATEMENT
FOR
PRINCIPAL

DRAFT

IN ACCORDANCE WITH LAW, DISTRICT POLICY AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIRECTIVES THE SCHOOL PRINCIPAL SHALL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR:

1. THE CONDUCT AND OUTCOME OF ALL PROGRAMS BOTH CURRICULAR AND CO-CURRICULAR.
2. THE EVALUATION OF AND REPORTING ON STUDENT DEVELOPMENT.
3. THE ATTITUDE OF STUDENTS TOWARD SELF, OTHERS, SCHOOL AND EDUCATION.
4. THE SAFETY, WELFARE AND CONDUCT OF STUDENTS WHILE PARTICIPATING IN SCHOOL PROGRAMS OR ON THEIR WAY TO OR FROM SCHOOL ON TRANSPORTATION PROVIDED BY THE DISTRICT.
5. THE ATTITUDE OF EMPLOYEES TOWARD THE STUDENTS AND THE PARENTS, TOWARD OTHER EMPLOYEES, THE SCHOOL, THE DISTRICT AND ITS PROGRAMS.
6. THE SELECTION, ASSIGNMENT, TRAINING, PERFORMANCE, PROFESSIONAL GROWTH AND ADVANCEMENT, EVALUATION, RETENTION, TRANSFER, PROMOTION, REPRIMAND, DEMOTION AND SEPARATION OF ALL STAFF.
7. THE ATTITUDE OF THE PARENTS AND THE COMMUNITY TOWARD THE SCHOOL, THE DISTRICT AND ITS PROGRAMS.
8. THE CONDITION OF THE PHYSICAL ASSETS: THESE SHALL INCLUDE THE NEATNESS AND CLEANLINESS OF THE BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS AND THE SAFETY, SECURITY AND STATE OF MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR OF THE BUILDINGS, GROUNDS, FURNISHINGS AND EQUIPMENT, EXCEPT TO THE EXTENT THAT RESPONSIBILITY HAS BEEN ASSIGNED TO A DEPARTMENT OF THE DISTRICT.
9. THE ACCOMMODATION AND DISTRICT TRANSPORTATION OF PUPILS.
10. THE PLANNING AND CONTROL OF THE EXPENDITURE OF FUNDS BOTH ALLOCATED TO AND GENERATED BY THE SCHOOL.
11. ADDITIONAL DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS AS ARE ASSIGNED BY THE ASSOCIATE SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS.

OBJECTIVE SETTING AND PLANNING PROCESSES

- 1. STATEMENT OF INSTITUTIONAL PURPOSES**
USUALLY A SET OF MULTIPLE CRITERIA.
- 2. GOAL STATEMENT**
USUALLY RESULTS FROM PROBLEM DEFINITION. OTHER SUPPORTING "REQUIREMENTS" MAY BE INSTITUTIONAL PURPOSES.
- 3. MEASURES**
DESCRIBES IN SPECIFIC TERMS HOW ONE WOULD MEASURE PROGRESS TOWARDS ACHIEVING THE GOAL
- 4. DEFINITION OF A STANDARD**
CAN BE DEFINED AS A LEVEL BELOW WHICH NOBODY OUGHT TO BE ALLOWED TO SET AN "END OBJECTIVE". NO TIME FRAME.
- 5. PLAN FORMULATION**
ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES FOR ACHIEVING THE DESIRED STANDARDS. IF THE STANDARD IS SUFFICIENTLY CHALLENGING, THE PLAN IS LIKELY TO ENCOMPASS MORE THAN ONE YEAR.
- 6. DEFINITION OF OBJECTIVES**
 - i) RESULTS: 1st year - 89% - 91%
2nd year - 91% - 95%
3rd year - 95% - 96% (END OBJECTIVE)
 - ii) REQUIREMENTS: OTHER CONDITIONS WHICH MUST ALSO BE SATISFIED IN THE ATTAINMENT OF THE OBJECTIVES.
- 7. CRITERIA FOR ASSESSMENT**
HOW WILL WE KNOW THAT THE OBJECTIVES ARE BEING OR HAVE BEEN ACCOMPLISHED. IF YOU DON'T DEFINE CRITERIA PEOPLE WILL DEFINE THEIR OWN. IF THEY ARE DEFINED YOU WILL REDUCE ARGUMENT AND FRICTION AND NARROW THE RANGE OF DISAGREEMENT. BASIS FOR MONITORING.
- 8. EVALUATION**
PASSING JUDGEMENT. THE OBJECTIVE AND CRITERIA ARE THE BASIS FOR MONITORING AND EVALUATION, AND SHOULD BE CONTAINED IN THE EVALUATION PLAN.

DEFINITIONS

GOALS

ARE STATEMENTS OF DESIRED RESULT OR OUTCOMES IN GENERAL TERMS, TO BE ACHIEVED BY AN INSTITUTION OVER AN UNSPECIFIED PERIOD OF TIME.

STANDARDS

ARE QUANTITATIVE STATEMENTS OF THE LEVEL OF PERFORMANCE OR QUALITY THAT IS DESIRED. THEY ARE WITHOUT A TIME DIMENSION. THEY ANSWER THE QUESTION — "HOW WELL OR HOW GOOD" QUANTITATIVELY.

OBJECTIVES

ARE STATEMENTS OF SPECIFIC RESULTS TO BE ACHIEVED, IN MEASURABLE TERMS, OVER A SPECIFIED PERIOD OF TIME. IT ANSWERS BOTH WHAT AND WHEN QUANTITATIVELY. USUALLY ACCOMPANIED BY OTHER REQUIREMENTS.

PROPERLY STATED IT WILL NOT INCLUDE NOR EVEN IMPLY ANY OF THE POSSIBLE MEANS FOR ACHIEVING THE STATED RESULT.

ANY NUMBER OF **RESULTS OBJECTIVES** MAY BE STATED IN SUPPORT OF A GOAL.

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO GET FROM A GOAL TO A RESULTS OBJECTIVE WITHOUT ONE OR MORE MEASURES. THE RESULTS OBJECTIVE STATEMENT, TO BE COMPLETE, SHOULD INCLUDE THE PHRASE "AS MEASURED BY _"

GOALS + QUANTITY = **STANDARD**

STANDARD + TIME = **END OBJECTIVE**

CRITERIA

HOW WILL WE KNOW THAT THE OBJECTIVES ARE BEING/HAVE BEEN ACCOMPLISHED?

THE OBJECTIVES AND CRITERIA ARE THE BASIS FOR THE EVALUATION PLAN.

MEASURE

DESCRIBES IN SPECIFIC TERMS HOW ONE WOULD MEASURE PROGRESS TOWARDS ACHIEVING THE GOAL.

APPENDIX III

School Based Budget Summaries
1980-83

SCHOOL BUDGET

September 1, 1980 - August 31, 1981

Date Submitted: MARCH 14, 1980

SUMMARY OF SCHOOL OBJECTIVESCOMPOSITE HIGH SCHOOLA. General

1. Achievement levels of students at Composite High School will be maintained in all instructional programs.

B. English as Second Language

1. To increase student's ability to read and write in English at a level 40% above the level of students entering the ESL program.

C. Music

1. To increase the junior high school band program to include both grades seven and eight..

D. Business Education

1. To provide 95% of the graduating seniors with employment within 2 weeks of graduation.

E. Climate of the School

1. Students will demonstrate more respect for school property as evidenced by fewer acts of vandalism, lower frequency of student discipline problems and improved school spirit. Staff perceptions can measure these variables as well as surveys designed by the school.

Recommended by:	Date	Signature
Principal		
Associate Superintendent		
Approved by Board Chairman		

Objectives summarized on this page should be considered with reference to the requirements contained in individual program narratives.

PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS1. General

A no-smoking policy has been adopted at Composite High School this year. In the main, the majority of students have accepted the policy. This was a drastic departure from what was permitted at this school in the past.

Although smoking in school is a minor detail, the no-smoking policy is vitally important to the overall atmosphere or climate of the school. We felt that a no-smoking policy was a good focal point from which to launch a larger campaign to clean up the school.

There is evidence that the overall plan is working. The school is cleaner, there is less damage to floors, and many students have commented on the physical condition of the school.

There will be further evidence of students' feelings if the School Board attempts to survey students, teachers and parents, as was done last year.

2. English as Second Language

Composite High School is now an ESL center, this means that students who speak little or no English are registered into the core subject areas and continue in the program until they are able to function in the regular school curriculum.

Our staff is in the process of devising a curriculum as there is no prescribed curriculum for ESL students at this time.

The time involved in registering students for the program is considerable and extra assistance is needed very badly in performing this duty. We have attempted to allow for an aide in our budget, but have not been able to do so. Our feelings are that as an ESL center there should be provision made for assistance because the number of students in the program is constantly fluctuating and there has been a steady increase since the beginning of the

year. Numbers of students never decrease and with the arrival of new immigrants to this city the ESL program is constantly in need of extra assistance.

The objectives of the program is to enable non-speaking and non-writing foreign students to enter the normal high school program as quickly as possible thus ensuring a productive member of this society.

3. Music

We have started a music program at Composite which consists of grade seven students from the junior high schools in our district.

The reasons for the program are two fold; 1) The music program at has practically disappeared, and 2) none of the junior high schools in this area offer music in their program.

We hope to expand the program for the 1980-81 school year to include the original grade seven students combined with new incoming grade seven students.

Within a period of three years we will have an excellent band program at Composite with a steady flow of talent moving into our school from the junior high schools.

The program is presently funded by the School Board, but in time we hope to be able to fund the program through our own budget.

4. Business Education

In a school such as Composite there is a great need for courses which supply young people with various salable skills in order that they might become productive members in society. Aside from the vocational offerings a good business education program is vital.

We are interested in preparing young people with a basic knowledge of employable skills which can permit an easy transition from the school environment to the working world.

We have re-opened the school bookstore which has created two new

working stations and also two new business education courses, marketing, and merchandising. The store is operated entirely by students under the supervision of Mr. , our assistant principal.

There is at present a program to publicize the business education offerings, this has not been done in the past, consequently the numbers of students involved with business education has not been as great as it should be. We have asked the faculty advisor of business education to sponsor a program indicating the opportunities and benefits which can be derived from the business education courses.

5. Performing Arts

This area, as with music, has practically disappeared, for the same reason. Heavy emphasis is being placed on the Performing Arts area because of the excellent facility at Composite High School.

We feel that one of our primary goals will be to expand the performing arts program to include not only incoming grade ten's but also existing students at the school.

Composite High School is the only high school offering Performing Arts, and students from all over the city should have the opportunity to experience this form of Art, if they are so inclined.

Our thrust will be in the junior high school, while attempting to promote the performing arts as we register grade nine students for the 1980-81 school year.

We will attempt to begin a program for Drama as we have for Music. With the excellent facilities we have for all of the arts there is no reason why Composite High School can not become the Fine Arts Center of the Public School System.

We also feel that students from the city center junior high schools do not have the opportunity to experience the enjoyment which can be provided through participation in a fine arts area.

SCHOOL BUDGET

September 1, 1981 - August 31, 1982

Date Submitted: MARCH 24, 1981.

BUDGET DECISION MAKING PROCESS

Composite's budget was structured as follows: after Christmas we asked department heads to formulate budgets for their departments. Preliminary budgets were structured by using the known percentage increase regarding salary. At this point, all staff members were involved, if they so desired. This applied to both certified and non-certified staff.

Mr. , an interested member of our community, had the opportunity to look at our budget, as well as the president of the Students' Union. When all information was collected the administration and the business manager sat down and finalized departmental allocations according to the total sum allocated to Victoria Composite High School.

Certified and non-certified staff members were actively involved in the allocation of funds. Mr. . and the Students' Union president were informed as to how the allocation was distributed but had no active involvement regarding the distribution of funds.

PROGRESS REPORT 1980-81 SCHOOL OBJECTIVES

1. General

Achievement levels of students at Composite High School will be maintained in all instructional programs.

- SEMESTER 1 1980 ACHIEVEMENT LEVELS FROM BOTH MIDTERMS AND FINAL MARKS INDICATE THE PROGRAM IS BEING MAINTAINED.

2. English as a Second Language

To increase student's ability to read and write English at an achievement level 40% above the ability level when the student enters the program.

PRESENT STATUS OF STATED OBJECTIVE

- 137 E.S.L. STUDENTS, ENROLLED IN AN E.S.L. ENGLISH COURSE (E.S.L. ENGLISH LEVEL 1, 2, 3, 4 AND ENGLISH 13E), WERE TESTED ON MARCH 4, 5 AND 6, 1981. STUDENTS WERE GIVEN THE CELT TEST. THIS TEST MEASURES VOCABULARY, STRUCTURE AND LISTENING SKILLS.

RESULTS

- TEST RESULTS, INDICATED THAT STUDENTS FUNCTIONED PROGRESSIVELY BETTER FROM SEMESTER TO SEMESTER. GREATEST IMPROVEMENT WAS EVIDENT AT LOWER LEVELS. FOR INSTANCE, STUDENTS TAKING E.S.L. ENGLISH 3 SCORED 27 PERCENT HIGHER ON THE CELT TEST THAN STUDENTS ENROLLED IN E.S.L. ENGLISH 2. ON THE OTHER HAND, STUDENTS ENROLLED IN ENGLISH 13E SCORED ONLY 13 PERCENT HIGHER THAN STUDENTS ENROLLED IN E.S.L. ENGLISH 4. THE OVERALL AVERAGE YEARLY IMPROVEMENT IN E.S.L. ENGLISH WAS 33 PERCENT. IT SHOULD ALSO BE NOTED THAT THE GREATEST IMPROVEMENT WAS EVIDENT ON THE LISTENING SUB-TEST WHILE THE LEAST IMPROVEMENT WAS MADE ON THE VOCABULARY SUB-TEST.

3. Music

To increase the junior high school band program to include both grades seven and eight. The grade seven program shall comprise 25% of the total band.

- THE MUSIC PROGRAM WAS CANCELLED DUE TO LACK OF FUNDS. THIS WAS UNFORTUNATE BECAUSE IT ALSO CANCELLED OUR PROGRAM TO BUILD A BAND PROGRAM DURING THE NEXT THREE YEARS.

THE BOARD HAD SUPPLIED TRANSPORTATION AND INSTRUMENTS DURING THE 1979-80 YEAR. A BAND OF 55 STUDENTS HAD BEEN MEETING 3 NOON HOURS PER WEEK AND THE LONG RANGE PLAN SEEMED FEASIBLE.

PROGRESS REPORT 1980-81 SCHOOL OBJECTIVES

3. Music (Continued)

- WITH SCHOOL BASED BUDGETING FOR 1980-81 THE SCHOOL HAD NO BUDGET PROVISION TO CONTINUE THE PROGRAM. THE SUPERVISOR OF MUSIC (JENSEN) COULD NOT SUPPLY ANTICIPATED SUPPORT FROM HIS BUDGET. CONSEQUENTLY, THE PROGRAM HAS BEEN LOST.

4. Business Education

To increase the number of graduating students qualifying for the Business Education Certificate by 50% at the end of June, 1981.

- IN JUNE 1980, 15 STUDENTS WERE AWARDED CERTIFICATES IN BUSINESS EDUCATION. FROM STUDENT RECORDS INDICATING THIS YEAR'S POTENTIAL CERTIFICATES TO BE 25 STUDENTS, (A 66% INCREASE), THE OBJECTIVE WILL BE MET.

FURTHER, ONE STUDENT OF THE 25 WILL HAVE A TOTAL OF 60 CREDITS IN BUSINESS EDUCATION AND HAS BEEN EXEMPTED FROM THE FIRST YEAR OF THE SECRETARIAL ARTS PROGRAM AT N.A.I.T. ON THE STRENGTH OF THE BACKGROUND SHE HAS OBTAINED FROM OUR PROGRAM.

5. Climate of the School

Students will demonstrate more respect for school property as evidenced by fewer acts of vandalism, lower frequency of student discipline problems and improved school spirit. Staff perceptions can measure these variables as well as surveys designed by the school.

-- STAFF PERCEPTIONS HAVE NOTED THE FOLLOWING:

- 1) A CLEANER SCHOOL I.E. HALLWAYS AND PLAY AREAS. THE CAFETERIA REQUIRES FURTHER IMPROVEMENT.
- 2) VANDALISM IS REDUCED.
- 3) FEWER DISCIPLINARY ACTIONS REGARDING SMOKING, USE OF IMPROPER LANGUAGE AND FIGHTING HAVE BEEN NOTED. NO ACTIONS RE: FIGHTING HAVE BEEN RECORDED THIS TERM.

A SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT HAS BEEN NOTED IN "SCHOOL SPIRIT". THIS WAS MOST EVIDENT DURING THE EXTREMELY SUCCESSFUL REDMEN INVITATIONAL TOURNAMENT. COMPLIMENTS FROM VISITING TEAMS, COACHES, AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC REINFORCE OUR STAFF PERCEPTIONS.

THE RENEWED VIGOR OF SCHOOL FOOTBALL, BASKETBALL AND DRILL TEAMS HAS RESULTED IN CHAMPIONSHIP CALIBRE EVENTS.

PROGRESS REPORT 1980-81 SCHOOL OBJECTIVES

5. Climate of the School (Continued)

GOOD SPORTSMANSHIP AWARDS PRESENTED TO THE SENIOR BASKETBALL TEAM ON THREE SEPARATE OCCASIONS ARE INDICATIVE OF A POSITIVE DIRECTION IN VIC SPORTS. WE ANTICIPATE THE ANNUAL SCHOOL BOARD SURVEY WILL CONFIRM OUR PERCEPTIONS.

6. Trades and Services

- (a) To retain 60% of the year 01 students in the program and increase skills in reading and mathematics by 2.5 grade levels.

— YEAR ONES WERE TESTED IN OCT./80 AND THE RESULTS WERE A RANGE OF READING ABILITIES FROM 2.0 TO 12.5 GRADE EQUIVALENT. THE AVERAGE SCORE WAS IN THE UPPER GRADE 5 RANGE. THESE STUDENTS WILL NOT BE RETESTED UNTIL MAY/81. THERE ARE SEVERAL GOOD INDICATORS OF GROWTH, HOWEVER. INITIAL SURVEYS SHOWED THAT YEAR ONE STUDENTS AVERAGED LESS THAN ONE BOOK OF PERSONAL READING PER YEAR (ACTUALLY .2 BOOK/YEAR). THESE STUDENTS ARE NOW READING, ON AN AVERAGE, ONE PERSONAL NON-REQUIRED BOOK PER MONTH. OUTSIDE OF CLASS TIME, LIBRARY USAGE HAS ALSO INCREASED DRAMATICALLY SINCE SEPTEMBER. ALTHOUGH CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE UNTIL THE STUDENTS ARE RETESTED, READING TEACHERS ARE OF THE OPINION THAT THIS OBJECTIVE OF OUR PROGRAM IS BEING MET.

- (b) To retain sixty percent of Year One students in the program.

— THIS OBJECTIVE IS ALSO DIFFICULT TO ASSESS BEFORE THE END OF THE BUDGET YEAR. ALL OF THE STUDENTS ENTERING YEAR ONE HAVE A HISTORY OF FAILURE IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM, AND MOST WOULD BE LOST IF IT WERE NOT FOR THE TRADES & SERVICES OR A SIMILAR PROGRAM. AS OF FEB./81 169 OF THE STUDENTS WHO ENTERED YEAR ONE ARE STILL PARTICIPATING IN THE PROGRAM. TWENTY-SEVEN OF THESE STUDENTS HAVE BECOME MOTIVATED ENOUGH AND HAVE COMPLETED ENOUGH REMEDIATION THAT THEY HAVE TRANSFERRED INTO A CREDIT PROGRAM (GRADE TEN LEVEL) FOR THE SECOND SEMESTER. MANY PARENTS HAVE EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT THE T & S PROGRAM WAS THE TURNING POINT FOR THEIR CHILDREN WHO COMPLETED A HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAM AFTER BEING FRUSTRATED TO THE POINT OF DROPPING OUT AT AGE 15 OR 16.

SYNOPTIC OF PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

GENERAL

Achievement levels of students at ... Composite High School will be maintained in all instructional programs.

ENGLISH

To improve the composition skills at the English 10 and English 13 level, as measured by an in-school assessment of writing ability of grade ten students based on a pre-test post-test model.

ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

To ensure that the process of integration not be carried to the extent that the home culture be stifled: that the curricular and extra-curricular programs include certain cultural activities that will keep alive the spirit of students' home culture so that all students may share the benefits of these activities in their growth as citizens of Canadian mosaic.

TRADES AND SERVICES

To continue the development of the Reading 01 program while maintaining the average student increase in reading scores of 2.5 grade equivalents during the year.

VOCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL

To provide a variety of vocational programs such that the student may select, more intelligently, a suitable career.

TRAINABLE MENTALLY HANDICAPPED

To integrate the trainable mentally handicapped student into appropriate regular classes where there is an opportunity to expand the student's potential while taking into consideration the individuals' ability level.

JUNIOR HIGH INDUSTRIAL ARTS PROGRAM

To provide the opportunity for ... Junior High School grade 8 and 9 students to participate in an Industrial Arts program.

Students presently spend four half days in the program and have access to thirty teacher-craftsmen and journeymen from the total industrial-vocational departments of the school.

STATEMENT OF SCHOOL OBJECTIVES

GENERAL GOALS

To continue our commitment to reinforce desires for educational excellence.

School Board

To increase the number of students realizing their potential for achievement and having a positive feeling of self-worth.

To increase the effectiveness of teaching.

To improve student, staff and community satisfaction with their influence on decisions that affect them.

SPECIFIC GOALS

To provide for the teaching-support staff: a combination of firm leadership and good working conditions so as to foster good morale and good working conditions.

To provide for the students a learning environment that is cognizant of both the social and classroom aspects of education.

Therefore, our major goal will be to enhance the educational process within Composite High School by providing a social matrix that accomodates the heterogeneous socio-economical and ability levels of our multi-cultural student body.

OBJECTIVES

1. The administration and staff will enhance the school's public image through staging major athletic and cultural events.
2. The school will facilitate a sense of community-citizen responsibility embracing respect for the rights of others, respect for law and authority, respect for public and private property.

STANDARD ACHIEVEMENT

Greater than 50% of the parent-teacher and student perceptions will note a positive ethos in relation to the objectives.

Crucial factors will include:

- i) staff attitude toward students
- ii) shared activities between staff and students
- iii) the students' position of responsibility within the school environment
- iv) personal and academic growth of the student body.

STATEMENT OF SCHOOL OBJECTIVESEVALUATION

Twice yearly:

The administration will compare past and present activities within the school environment to determine:

1. rates of vandalism against school and personal property.
11. the community resources officer will be interviewed as to his perceptions and statistics (if available) on student involvement with the civil authorities.
111. Student council and the coordinator of co-curricular activities will be interviewed regarding rates of participation by the staff-student body in functions organized for or by them.

School Based Budget

Fiscal Year

September 1, 1982 to August 31, 1983

Submitted: March 18, 1982

OBJECTIVES

2. The administration will encourage the Trades and Service department to develop a conceptual framework that will facilitate "a continuous progress program" designed to:
 - (i) ease the integration of T & S students into the regular High School program.
 - (ii) correct misplacement of students in the year 01 program
3. The administration and staff will refine and expand the schools program of encouraging within the student body that sense of community-citizen responsibility that respects the right of property of others, as evidenced by reduced vandalism and reduced student discipline problems.
4. Achievement levels of students at Composite High School will be maintained in all instructional programs.
5. Department heads will involve their staff in implementation of the "Effective teaching model" for improved classroom instruction.
6. A dropout survey project will be implemented for year 01 T & S students.

STANDARD OF ACHIEVEMENT

Greater than 60% of the parent-teacher and student perceptions will note a positive ethos in relation to the objectives.

Crucial factors will include:

- (i) staff attitude toward students
- (ii) shared activities between staff and students
- (iii) the students' position of responsibility within the school environment
- (iv) personal and academic growth of the student body.

EVALUATION

Twice yearly:

The administration will compare past and present activities within the school environment to determine:

- (i) rates of vandalism against school and personal property
- (ii) the community resources officer will be interviewed as to his perceptions and statistics (if permissible) on student involvement with the civil authorities.
- (iii) Student council and the coordinator of co-curricular activities will be interviewed regarding rates of participation by the staff-student body in functions organized for or by them.